

**Reduction Ratio:**

**12 x**

**Papers of Hugh Dalton:**  
**Original Manuscript Diary**

**Volume 23:**  
**July - December 1940**  
**(Folder of Loose Typescripts)**

DIARY

1. 7. 40

Meeting at F.O.: Hfax., Hankey, Lord Lloyd, I, Cadogan, Menzies, B.-Nesbit, Morton, Jebb. I object to putting everything under the D.M.I. What we have in mind is not a military job at all. It concerns Trade Unionists, Socialists, etc., the making of chaos and revolution, - no more suitable for soldiers than fouling at football or throwing when bowling at cricket. M.I., I say, is proliferating everywhere. Surely the W.O. have enough on their plate at present. I don't think this quite pleases M. and B.-N, but they don't put up much fight. Hankey says the F.O. have prevented everything so far. Lloyd says to Hfax. "You should never be consulted because you would never consent to anything; you will never make a gangster." Morton suggests that we ought to have a single dictator, with a status similar to Swinton, for Home Security. On this broadly we agree. Who should it be? I have in mind C.R.A., with myself to do a lot of the work. But I do not mention his name in this galere. I afterwards speak to him about it and also write to him and to Hfax. (copies of letters on separate sheet).

In the evening a meeting of senior Labour Ministers - A., G., H.M., E.B., D.G., and I. E.B. talks nearly all the time. He will have to learn to be snappier. It is thought that the military may be trying to take too much upon themselves just now.

Revez comes to see me. He has escaped from Paris via Bordeaux. More evidence about Madame de Portes. Reynaud was going to marry her when he had succeeded in divorcing his existing wife. She was the friend of Baudouin and Prouvost and pushed them into the Cabinet. Reynaud was completely blind and allowed her to arrange all the appointments except that of de Gaulle. Baudouin had been for many years the agent of Mussolini. The German propagandists said "The idea of the Nation is finished; what matters now is Order." They played on French fears of Communism. Hitler, having had experience of Hindenburg, thought Petain would play a like role. He is an expert in dealing with senile soldiers. Prouvost found that the circulation of his papers had fallen from three millions in Paris to 50 thousand in Bordeaux. Therefore, he wanted to go back to Paris! On Sunday, June 10th, Revez attended a press conference. He was told "There will be another conference here to-morrow afternoon". But on the Monday everyone had gone. There was no-one in the building. Everything was in complete disorder. The whole administration of France went put in two or three hours. There was no administration and no real Government either in Tours or in Bordeaux. (This shows the weakness of over centralisation. Our diffused regional responsibility, even in moderate measure, is much better.)

2. 7. 40

Write letters to Hfax. and C.R.A., as mentioned yesterday. The Minutes of yesterday's meeting sent from the F.O. are rather tendentious. See C.R.A. that night and urge him to pursue the matter at once with P.M. He does so later that night and tells me next day that P.M. is friendly to the idea but doesn't care much for C.S. Therefore, we must think again. Therefore, on the evening of the 3rd, with H.G. and R., I excogitate Spears, and, on the morning of the 4th, communicate this name to C.R.A. and send a letter containing seven reasons why he would fit well.

I am trying to get a secret session on M.E.W. in the House.

H.G. thinks there is evidence that the class war is showing itself *here*.

Hoare in Madrid is twittering about Negrin, etc. He is, as usual, very frightened of the situation in which he finds himself.

3. 7. 40

A most pathetic lunch at which Mrs Phillimore has collected eight or nine French and Belgian Socialists - all that can be found in London. Buset is much the best, with whom are Saxe and Mademoiselle Blum (the Belgian Socialist Deputy). From France there is only Louis Levy, some other journalist with his son, and Henri Hauck, still attached to the French Embassy as "Labour Attache". These are all that have arrived!

Emergency committee of National Executive meets to hear Huysmanns give an account of the escape from Belgium. He is still very strong and firm. It is agreed that the Government should now suppress the Daily Worker and perhaps the Communist Party as well. They are trying to undermine the Government and, under cover of an anti-Chamberlain push, to weaken the national will and distract men's minds.

Visits from P.Lorraine and Comert. (Separate records.)

4. 7. 40

Make speech at lunch of F.F.A. Not an audience that reacts very easily, but I am told that they took it well. Mainly an emphatic reassertion of our will to win. Why do we have so often to repeat this? Partly because of the American Twitterbugs among the pressmen.

In the afternoon Winston makes his historic speech in the House on the necessary action taken at Oran and elsewhere against the French fleet. At the end we give him a much finer ovation than Old Corpse Upstairs ever got.

Petsamo. <sup>Nickel.</sup> I have now, I hope, succeeded in handing all this over to the Russians. I hope the Germans will now get nothing. It is a scandalous thing that I.N.C.O. (Mond Nickel, whose representative is D.O. Evans, M.P.) were prepared to make a plan whereby they should keep their concession and let the Germans have up to 50% of the production. This would be trading with the enemy and making munitions to kill our people. A thin legal Finnish screen would have been imposed between the dividend receivers and the enemy. I shout at some of the officials about this and take some hand in instigating the Russians to demand the lot. I am told that in any case there will not be any production for twelve months, owing to damage in the Russo-Finnish war.

DIARY

5. 7. 40

See Kingsley Wood on things generally. I ask him whether it is true that there is a strong movement inside the Conservative Party against Chamberlain's leadership. He says no, "only a few glamour boys like what's-his-name.....Cranborne. And he has got a job now, so I daresay we shan't hear much more from him". On the other hand, he thinks Chamberlain won't last very long. "I was noticing him in the Chair at a Cabinet sub-Committee yesterday, and he looked awful". He thinks he will soon resign, but he will never go to the Lords. Winston, if he liked, could be leader of the Conservative Party in succession.

We speak of the Governor of the Bank. I say that there will be much feeling against Catto as successor. He comes from the most reactionary firm in the City, Morgan Grenfell, who, I say, have a notorious record as partisan Tories and have, I suppose, contributed largely to the Tory Party funds. K.W. does not take up this point nor admit that Catto is intended to succeed Norman. He insists, however, that he was born at Aberdeen and is of humble origin. M.Norman feels the whole world which he built up is collapsing and may not go on much longer. In three or four months he will be 70. I ask whether he would intend to resign in the middle of a year, and K.W. says that nothing is actual yet. I say that there is a great deal to be said for having a Governor from outside the City, which is really ~~very~~ a very narrow circle. We should stop in-breeding. He says he thinks there is a good deal to be said for this in principle, but who would I suggest? Old Stamp? "I can't make out his papers on finance. I like something on finance that I can understand". I say that I am not particularly pressing Stamp, who has become rather old and long-winded. K.W. says "He's like me - an old Wesleyan. He always strikes me as being a talker rather than a doer". I ask what he thinks about Salter, or Leith Ross. I say there would be some advantage in having a man with Civil Service experience. Personally, I am inclined to think Salter would be the best. His career has been varied, and a little bit of politics and Government office lately will have done him no harm. Also he has written some good books. K.W. says "Yes, I remember one of them, in which he ticked us all off. He had several pages on me, neither praising nor downing me too much". But he thinks that it is important that "whoever is appointed should have the confidence of the City". "No doubt", he adds, "I should have a good deal to say about it."

I refer to the "control of the Banks" indicated by C.R.A. in his speech the other day, about which nothing has been done.

K.W. says C.R.A. had to prepare that speech in a great hurry and perhaps did not put it perfectly. He had to make notes on the backs of envelopes as the Cabinet was taking its decision, and then rush down to the House and make a statement. None the less, he doesn't complain. The small lenders have been magnificent, and the big people are also coming along very well. I say I have heard great doubts expressed about this, but he tries to reassure me. He claims that, as he said in an answer to a P.Q. yesterday, he is now borrowing large sums direct from the J.S.Banks. He settles how much he shall borrow, and he also fixes the rate of interest. He has fixed it at one and an eighth percent, which he thinks is pretty good. He has also taken steps to see that deposit interest is reduced, for all customers of the banks, to one per cent. I say I think it should be reduced to nothing. I propose that the Clearing Banks Committee should be placed, at least for the duration of the war, under the Treasury, in the same way as the Railway Executive Committee was placed under the Ministry of Transport. He says he will think this over.

I also tell him that he ought to have a member of the Labour Party as Financial Secretary. I think that Crookshank has deserved promotion. He says he thinks so too and supposes he will get it soon. He would be quite glad to have a Labour Financial Secretary. Who? I ask whether he would like Shinwell? He thinks not. (I am thinking of Phil Baker, but do not name him.)

K.W. is most friendly, and urges me to come back again at any time. He is an engaging little rogue.

6. 7. 40

With Ingrams to a Country House, where I find a good crowd assembled, with whom a useful talk on propaganda in enemy and enemy-occupied territories. I feel that this is all in the air until the Battle of Britain has been fought and won.

Meet Belgian Colonial Minister, Vleeschauer, at the B. Embassy in the afternoon. Rather a shifty little Clerical. He wants to sell the products of the Belgian Congo. He is all against Jaspas and says that he is still in contact with Pierlot and the others, who are somewhere east of Bordeaux. He is opposed to the idea of forming a Belgian National Committee in London.

7. 7. 40

Working on my speech for Tuesday. See C.R.A. in the evening and propound Van as an alternative to Spears. I hope he will see the P.M. soon about this. (Van had been much pressed upon me at the Country House yesterday by Rex Leeper, who thinks he is still as good as ever he was if he gets a job worth while. He has gone through a long phase of persecution mania and non-employment.)

DIARY9. 7. 40

Secret session on M.E.W. I speak for one and a half hours at the beginning, and half an hour at the end answering questions. It is said to have been a "great Parliamentary triumph". A remarkably friendly and interested reception from all parts of the House. Though I go on so long to a quite full house, I am told that only two members go out during my speech. A Tory said afterwards to C.R.A. "What strikes one about your chaps is that they know their job". I think I succeeded in conveying a grasp of detail and a sense of vigour as well as telling a story largely unfamiliar to practically all those present. It is also generally appreciated, I think, that much of this could not have been told at all in public session. Foot comes in for half an hour in the middle and does quite well.

*Van  
2nd Gout  
Hancock  
Cotville*  
C.R.A. in a sentence as we pass, just before I get up to speak, says that it is settled I am to do something additional. Agreed to-day. V., not G., to help. Who thought of G.?

P.H. says late to-night that, lunching with P.M.'s youngest P.S., he heard that I was to be head of No.6.

10. 7. 40

Party meeting. Hysterics, especially from South Wales, on alleged lack of local defence.

Congratulations from Drogheda, who sat in Peers' Gallery yesterday, thus living a dual life, and from others.

The Colonel calls. Key dates between 24th and 31st of July. So far all up to schedule.

*3rd  
Sinker  
Sinker*  
7.15. See C.R.A. He says it is all right. M.U.W. I say I should have same powers as the ex-hyphenate. He agrees. Hfax. in favour. I say that it is high time I was told officially, so that things can start.

H.G. very pleased, and he and I have a drink on this.

*Sean  
Nesbitt*  
9 p.m. Fletcher says that there has been a great to-do to-day. B.N. has been pulling every string. C. of S. Committee - always apt to be girlish - and Ismay threatening to resign. (I don't believe this.) P.M. a little bothered and reluctant. But it is said, I think by M., whom Fletcher knows well, that if

*next*



C.R.A. digs his feet in he will win.

10 p.m. See C.R.A. again. He went straight to P.M. at 7.45 from his talk with me and it is true that there has been a strong counter-intrigue. The position of old H. is being exploited and it is suggested that S. might perhaps do it all. This he regards as fantastic. I tell him something of F.'s reports, though not mentioning the source. He says he will stand firm. I press for quick decision. Why should C. of S. object? I ask. B.N. is another story. C.R.A. says that he insists that much of what we mean must be done from the Left.

To-night I write to four members of the Cabinet.

11. 7. 40

Send H.G. with letters to C.R.A., A.G., A.V.A., and Sinclair. The two first are together in C.R.A.'s office when my letters are delivered.

To War Cab. at 12.15. A short item jointly with the Admiralty. All agreed. I was greeted, I thought, with a more than usually friendly smile from the P.M., and, finding myself beside the C.I.G.S., noted that he too was most polite.

*Handley  
Sinclair*

Arriving at the House, run into Fletcher. He says he thinks it is "more favourable" to-day. But H. is still in the offing and S. is now being presented as "the man who works 14 to 16 hours a day". Those who don't want me to have too much ask whether I work as long as that? Or do I "trust too much to others"?

C.R.A. rings up just before one and says "I am handling it; you can safely leave it to me; you do not need to approach anyone else". This suggests that he may have been vexed at my writing to A.G. too, but the latter, seen later in the day, says this is not so.

A.G., whom I meet in the afternoon, says that he and C.R.A. saw the P.M. just before the Cab. and were very firm. The P.M., just off to inspect some coast defences, told C.R.A. to "fix it up with ....." I speak of B.N. and the rest. A.G. says "Oh the P.M. just brushed all that away at once."

10.30 p.m. In touch, through Topham, with C.R.A., who telephones "It is going on all right".

This is not exactly a Blitzkrieg. We are running a close race between the invasion and a firm decision.

DIARY12. 7. 40

Earl Winterton in yesterday's debate said he must most warmly commend H.M.G. "This is a Government of all the toughs and all the talents".

Lunch with Sikorski and Raczynski, C.R.A. also present. It is clear that S. likes the English better than the French. He is a little haughty about the Czechs - there are 25 million Poles and only, at the very outside, 13 million Czechs and Slovaks; the Poles fought and the Czechs didn't; the Czechs have had a puppet Government in Prague all the time; no Pole has accepted such a task for Hitler.

Stanczyk, he says, is rather troublesome and very ignorant. Although Minister for Social Welfare, he was the first to leave Paris, leaving many of those for whom he was responsible behind. I say that he has a symbolic value for our miners and that his relations with us have always, contrary to some gossip, been quite correct. He has never discussed anything confidential questions with British Labour Ministers. Sikorski says that they must cut down very considerably in expenditure and Government establishment, and there are now not enough Poles to be looked after here to justify the continuance of a Minister of Social Welfare. But they have made a plan - and here he distributes a typewritten copy of the plan - whereby Stanczyk is to continue as a Minister who will preside over various other Departments. He seems, in fact, to be a co-ordinating Minister without Portfolio. I say that this seems a very good arrangement.

*Pekuson  
Winterton.* I leave with C.R.A. who says "It is all right now. You are to do it, with Van and, if you like, Maurice P. and whoever else you like. S. will go on doing what he is doing now. I think that he wants watching. I have told them that you will be quite tactful in dealing with the brass hats. The objections raised were not political at all. I think they came from someone in the P.M.'s entourage". I say "Well, it is about time something was settled."

13. 7. 40

Take two papers through War Cab. Small attendance. P.M. away in the country preparing his broadcast for to-morrow night.

*Winterton* Speak to M. after Cab. "Who has tried to upset the Cab. decision of last Tuesday?" I ask. He says "No-one. It was the P.M. himself who afterwards had some doubts as to which was the best way to organise it and wondered whether the whole thing shouldn't be

*Switzer*

under one head, linking up with what S. is doing now." And then, M. hinted, P.M. wondered whether he couldn't work in two naval friends of his, but couldn't find a way. And Hfax., says M., had sent in a Note which was a hopeless muddle, not knowing the difference between one branch of the W.O. and another. "So I had to re-write it all and put up a new scheme to the P.M. I said he had only to decide where he wanted the line drawn and then the administration would be quite easy. It could either be split in two or kept as one. C.R.A. was with him when I went in and was being very firm". M. also spoke ill of C.S., said that there was a hole there somewhere (Abyssinia), and showed me an absurdly complicated chart compiled by C.S. or one of his people to show their relation with various Government Departments. M. also said that Van was now too old and had lost the power of taking decisions. I say "This is no Blitzkrieg, and now another weekend will be lost. I understand from C.R.A. that everything is now settled, but the P.M. must now speak outright to me about it".

*Can't find  
St. n. 201*

I say I suppose that D.M.I. had really been at the bottom of the trouble. M. says he does not think so, though no doubt some of the Generals had not liked the idea.

During this conversation he speaks ill of many and well of no-one, except the Colonel who, he says, has a mind rather like the P.M.'s.

*Switzer*

After lunch I go by car to Richmond Terrace with C.R.A. He says "It's all settled now; You are to have it". He thinks M. worked on the P.M. He says "He takes too much upon himself. He wants watching too". I show impatience at the delay.

*Switzer*

I hear later in the evening that M. rang up H.G. and said that everything was now all right and that I should have a letter from the P.M. within forty-eight hours. Either, I think, after my talk with him this morning, he rang up the P.M. in the country, or, C.R.A., after my talk with him this afternoon, got on to M.

*Switzer*

Meet de Gaulle at lunch with Mrs P. Not an inspiring or romantic figure, rather stiff and a Staff Officer more than a Commander-in-Chief. Reynaud, he says, was "tres mal entouré".

He is in favour of setting up a Free French Government in the Kamerons. Here the spirit is very good and both the colonists and the natives remember the Germans and don't want them back. It is also well situated in relation to British West African colonies. de G. quite understands the need to have politicians at the head of

the Government. The boat, with 50 deputies on board, including some excellent Ministers, is still at Casablanca. The rumour that she had got away from Gib to Marseilles is false. It was on this rumour that P.M. spoke sharply to A.V.A. and First Sea Lord in Cab. the other day. A.V.A. would like to cut her out, but the difficulties are considerable, for she is right inside the harbour, where the French have coast defences and also a number of submarines and small service warships.

Good oil news from Washington. The U.S. will take steps to stop all supplies to Spain and the Canaries.

14. 7. 40

Talk in the morning to foreign Socialists and some of our own N.E. on present state of defence of this island, on progress of E.W., and on future road to victory - first repel attack on this island, then maintain economic pressure, gain domination of the air over Europe, organise and arouse revolts and revolutions in all enslaved lands, and finally land Army or Liberation to complete the job. At the end some of them looked brighter than at the beginning.

There are squabbles among the Poles and among the Belgians, and some of my colleagues want to intervene. We must limit our activities in this direction.

Atticus in to-day's Sunday Times, thinking of Tuesday's secret session, has a cross-heading "A forceful Minister" and says "The Labour Party in the House of Commons, having secured a considerable acreage of the Government Front Bench, does not intend to retreat from it when the piping days of peace come round again..... Mr Bevin is now the favourite for the ultimate party leadership, with Mr Morrison second. But Dr Dalton, the Minister for Economic Warfare, does not intend to be left out of it."

"It is unfortunate for him that his first big chance as a Minister came at last Tuesday's secret session, when, as everyone knows, we discussed economic warfare. Dr Dalton has a voice which makes secrecy difficult, a towering physique, a powerful head, and a pair of pale eyes which, when he leans down upon the dispatch-box, turn upwards with an almost Mephistophelean effect. When he wants to be really insulting he emphasises it by hitting the box as if his patience were exhausted and then smiling broadly. He has style, courage, intelligence, and originality. As a leader he would never make his followers love him, but he would always carry their banner high.

Then, of course, there is Sir Stafford Cripps, who, when last expelled from the Labour Party, had the case against him cited on behalf of the Executive by Dr Dalton. If Sir Stafford is successful in Moscow he will also be in the running for the

Socialist leadership. It is one of the ironies of war that it destroys so many careers while making others."

DIARY15. 7. 40

Photographed with friends by Bystander.

A.V.A. gives talk in the Admty. on improved naval defences of coast, etc. Italian bombers better than fighters. Keep formation and press home attacks on our ships, but without serious result. In Meditn. we need more air cover for the fleet.

I hear from H.G. that M. told Hall, who lunched with <sup>him</sup> him, that P.M.'s letter to me should go off to-day! What circumlocutory gossip! Same channel reports that C.R.A. "has been very firm".

Ingrams hears that Cranborne, as well as Swinton and Lord Lloyd, have been proposed. Elsewhence I hear of Keyes and Admiral C. and Q. (two days later I hear the latter was proposed by Hankey). <sup>Cook & Drury</sup>

Fletcher says that A.V.A. was rather "gruff and unfriendly" over my communication. "The less I know the better".

Dickson has an article in Free Europe. I do not like it. Query he and Abyssinia.

See K.W. Push for pre-emption in Iberia. Send out a man for U.K.C.C. to work with our man now in Lisbon. K.W. says that Wilson Smith, his present Private Secretary, used to attend my lectures and says they were very good. He says that next week he will have an increase in Death Duties in his Budget. He says "I am doing this to please you. I told Neville what you said about being so ashamed at having to pay so little on your father's estate". Catto, he thinks, is perhaps too old in any case for the job he is being said to be prepared for.

16. 7. 40

Rung up by G.J. and congratulated. Also by the Colonel in a gesture at a P.O.G. meeting. Draft from Rucker of terms of reference. G.J. to dine at H. of C. Will he do it? I think yes. and at B.S.H. He will be an emollient. R.V. will remain where he is. G.J. quotes Cadogan as having said of de Gaulle "It's a pity he has a head like a banana and hips like a woman". King+Hall also knows too much and speaks to me in H. of C.

See Kelly  
Shaw  
Horse

Late that night to C.R.A., whom I thank. He says it has been "a labour of love". "They" said that R.V. wouldn't work with me. This was the last effort. He then rings up No.10 and P.M. asks me to go round. It is 11.30 p.m.

X I find P.M. alone in Cabinet Room, though it appears later that M. and Lord S. were in M.'s room next door. P. M. says "I was just writing to you" (I wonder! I think he had had the letter brought in when he knew I had arrived). The letter to be signed by him was on the table. I ask whether he is really sure that he wants me to do a little more. He says "Yes, certainly." The only doubt raised by some was whether R.V. and I would co-operate. He has seen him and is quite satisfied. I say "Why yes, we are very old friends and all through these years he, you and I have thought the same". He then commends to me a certain young man who has much impressed him and has not been properly used. Also he says "This must come from the Left".

Lord S. and M. then join us and much talk about E.H. *Elective House*  
I tone down the main attack.

17. 7. 40

P.M.'s letter at last arrives! See Ld.Pres.on draft. This is substantially agreed. I don't think it necessary to argue too much about words. There is to be no razzle. It would not be worth the candle.

See Sinclair in the afternoon. Very friendly. Likewise, he says, his staff towards me. Later see R.V. When asked by P.M. on Monday night (15th) whether he would work with me, he replied saying we had been not only friends, but very close friends, for many years and had thought alike. As to age, there is much less between him and me than between ~~him~~ and A.E. P.M., he says, seemed much relieved at his attitude. I then propose to R.V. that G.J. should be, under him, my principal officer. He takes this very well indeed and seems quite keen. Later, he develops an attack on C.S. and proposes in his place R.L. who, he says, has not been at all well treated, has become somewhat discouraged, but has the right point of view in addition to ability and experience, and, if encouraged, would soon revive. I write to-night to A.C. asking for G.J. R.V. had warned me that, if refused, I should go straight to P.M. about this. I am confident that this will not be necessary.

*Edlin*  
*Campbell*  
*Stewart*  
*Keenan*  
*Cady*

18. 7. 40

P.O.G. report through Cab. P.M. says to Hankey, next to whom I am sitting, "You have not got to go far to make your representations". Later, a more explicit reference. Some, including Anderson, on my other side, look much surprised.

Cadogan afterwards agrees to part with G.J. He is acting very well towards me. He is not against C.S.

G.J. comes round to make arrangements. These will not be difficult. It is partly a question of nomenclature.

Trying to arrange for a move from Muret to the coast. P.M. tells C.R.A. that I am looking after all that now.

for Blum.  
(didn't  
see (see))



DIARY19. 7. 40

Van. Jeff. Saitshell

75m  
First meeting, a quatre, with V., J. and G.; laying plans. J. to begin by surveying the existing field. He has already assured I. that I shall not tear off his badges of rank when I meet him!

Blum is still in France. Phil running about all over the shop making ineffectual moves to fish him out. I put it into another channel. None of these things are easy. This channel is also to do something about M.oil.

Meet Catto at lunch with L.R. A small, plebeian, undistinguished man. I cannot believe that he would really fill the bill, or, if appointed, be a serious snag, in succession to M. Norman. (I find that immediately after our lunch I jotted down "Common little man - not really dangerous!")

Econ. Pol. Cttee. My paper on Surpluses. Sir H.Q. tries to put up K.W. to stop my proposal for a Ministerial Committee. K.W: "There is already a Committee .....dealing with this." H.D: "But that, I think, is only a committee of officials?" K.W. (obviously knowing nothing about it) turns to H.Q., who nods. K.W: "Yes, that is so". H.D: "But that is not what I mean at all. I am proposing a Ministerial Committee. They would, of course, take into account any material circulated or suggestions made by officials."

After brief chit-chat it is agreed that Ministerial Committee should be appointed with A.G. as Chairman, "to give it a start", and me as Vice-Chairman. A.G. asked me beforehand whether I would agree to this "in order to remove possible jealousies", and I said Certainly.

H.G. says that Lady Listowel told him that Virginio Gayda told her that "Hugh Dalton is the only Englishman who understands Mussolini".

20. 7. 40

Enter, for the first time in my life, the Ministry of Information to confer with Duff Cooper on the re-organisation of the Country Establishment. I find him quite reasonable, and it is agreed that V. and M.P., whom he is appointing, will have to work out a practical division. This should be based, he thinks, and I agree, on the nature, rather than the manner of delivery, of the material. The M. of I. seeks, he says, to give information otherwise not obtainable abroad.

V. m. Hank  
p. Petruso

There is too much quack, quack, quack going on. I think it is probably worst of all in the Clubs of the West End, where not only are conversations overheard, but it is noted who goes with whom, and on this basis ~~an~~ inferences ~~is~~ drawn and gossip continually embellished.

I go to W.L. in the afternoon.

21. 7. 40

I walk for five and a half hours, over Sugar Hill, to Peaks, Ashdown, then along a stretch of Ridgeway towards Fox Hill, then swerving left back to Peaks and so through Aldbourne Village up to W.L.

Stiff, sleepy and fit.

DIARY22. 7. 40

Spears says that the Van Committee is inconceivably slow, long-winded and indecisive (I hear from others that Spears does most of the talking!), and that the W.O. are showing a complete lack of gumption in dealing with the French soldiers, etc. They are not even taking the names and addresses of those who are returning to France and might be useful to us later.

The War Cab. agreed this morning to my new duties. "And now", said the P.M., "go and .....". ("Get some work!")

Fletcher to lunch. I tell him that he has hitherto concealed successfully from nearly all the world his Christian name. He says that it is Rex. I ask him to keep things sweet between the First Lord, to whom he continues to be P.P.S., old Keyes and me - a sort of triangular liaison. He says that K. has been saying that he has "sailed into action" against my new appointment, but I understand that, having seen the P.M., he sailed out again!

In the afternoon "Ministers above the line" are invited to Air Ministry to hear Kingsley Wood's Budget proposals for to-morrow. His presentation is very dull. The Budget, reasonable enough in detail, lacks any bigness of conception.

After this performance, Sinclair talks about the Air. Our superiority, man for man and plane for plane, over the Germans is astonishing. They have been sending as many aeroplanes over us, night by night, as we have sent over them, but their results are negligible and ours most formidable. Their pilots, in particular, have very poor maps.

Lindeman dines with me at the St Regis Hotel - a place which I have previously frequented only in the company of Lannon, but it is conveniently near my Ministry and has the advantage of not being too obvious. I tell L. that I am appalled at the amount of quack quack which goes on in West End Clubs and other public places over matters relating to the war. Some tell me, I say, that the Athenaeum is a little safer than some other Clubs, but I doubt even this. It is always observed, I say, who is with whom, and intelligent guesses are then made as to why they are together. He says there is an old proverb that "At the Athenaeum you can't hear yourself speak for the noise of the grinding of axes".

He strikes me as rather old, but very amiable. It is useful, I think, to keep in touch with him since he advises the P.M. on "everything which has a scientific or technical aspect",

including all questions involving statistics. He is, of course, a great Winstonite, and we spend some time recounting and denouncing the errors of the past. L. says that whenever, from 1932 onwards, they had to take a ~~decision, they took~~ decision in foreign policy, they took it wrong. They would have done much better, he says, if every time they had decided by tossing a coin. Then, at least, they would probably have been right half the time.

A little before midnight, back at my flat, I am rung up by the P.M., who has been hearing more stories about C.S. "I must investigate this," he says, and he wants me to make recommendations to him for dealing ~~with~~ this matter within forty-eight hours.

23. 7. 40

A A bad day, full of delays and irritations! Muddles and crossing of wires about Blum; fidgets about C.S.; vain efforts to discover Mr R.B.Bennett (who, the P.M. tells me to-day, is the source responsible for the latest stories about C.S.); further delays on the Navicert announcement.

On the other hand, I have a considerable success with old Keyes, who calls upon me at the House of Commons and with whom I have a hearty and friendly conversation. He no longer fears, I think, at the end that I intend to issue him with daily orders. He grumbles about the Admiralty - as all sailors do - and tells me a long rambling story in favour of the King of the Belgians and against Gort. Gort, he says, "lost all his records" of events in France leading up to the evacuation at Dunkirk. The Admiral, on the other hand, kept all his and so has, apparently, much the better of the controversy. He has compiled a long report which, he says, the F.O. told him was "unanswerable". He says that Gort showed no courage at all in reporting home the real situation to the Cab. K. prepared a full appreciation several days before the collapse of the Belgian Army and showed it to G., who said that he entirely agreed with it. K. then said "Then you had better send it home yourself in your own name". But G. would not do this, and so K. had to send it himself, adding that he had shown it to G. who agreed with it. In fact, contrary to the allegations of Reynaud and the French and British High Command, the King of the Belgians had given three days' notice, through K., who had conveyed it to G., that the Belgian Army could not continue its resistance. It was a cowardly lie to say that the King ordered them to lay down their arms without having told his Allies. Moreover, when G. consented to a futile southward offensive with troops lacking equipment, munitions and food, in the vain hope of meeting a northward push by the French, which Weygand had promised but which never took place, this had the effect of leaving the Belgians in the air. K. made it clear that he regarded G. as a complete washout and that he had had more than he deserved in being given the appointment of Inspector General of the

Forces.

In the afternoon I tell the N.C.L. about the work of my Ministry. They take it very well and are interested and impressed. It is a good story, though most of it cannot be told in public.

In the evening a frightful tangle of crossed wires over Blum. Phil more than usually elusive. Finally fetch him round about 10 p.m. to my Ministry where we try to work out a plan, but the problem is very complicated and I have rather small hopes of success.

24. 7. 40

A rather better day. Spend the morning with the National Executive of the Labour Party. Nothing very important, but it is essential to keep contact and make sure that blunders are not committed.

In the afternoon see Keeling, who presents certain views about the C.A.S. and possible successors. Newall, it seems, is on his last legs and, according to K., there is a danger that Dowding may succeed him. K. objects to this because D. is past his best, rather tired, too defence-minded, and has not the confidence of the ordinary pilot. He would prefer either Freeman or Portal. I agree to pass this on to C.R.A.

Bennett has been run to ground and comes to see me. (See separate note for what he said about C.S., which I passed on to P.M. together with a telegram which Duff-Cooper is sending to C.S. settling the immediate personal problem, though leaving much else for further discussion.) Next I see the D.M.I. - very polite - and the D.A.I. - very hearty but probably rather stupid.

25. 7. 40.

A swarm of callers in the morning: young Colvin, the P.M.'s protege - intelligent, critical and indiscreet, it seems -; Sir Frank Nelson, who makes rather a good impression; Colonel Harold Gibson, who has been engaged on all sorts of miscellaneous enterprises, recommended by Amery but distrusted by Attlee - he ends by denouncing Sir H. Quisling and saying that neither the Ministers of Supply nor Labour are being well served by their principal permanent officials, Robinson and Phillips, and that there is resentment in high Civil Service circles at the amount of co-ordinating being done by Attlee and Greenwood; Valentine Williams and Brig. Brookes, who have come up from the country in a great state of concern about the future of their organisation, which they are most anxious should not be split in two.

A final fidget in the middle of the morning about my Navicerts announcement which was to have been made this afternoon in reply to a private notice question. Sir S. Hoare is now asking for further delay in order that he may break it gently to the Spanish Government. There is also a great dispute about the oil stocks in Spain. My officials take one view and Slimy Sam's advisers in Madrid another. I agree reluctantly to postpone the statement till next Tuesday, since I am anxious just now to be friendly with Hfax. and Cadogan, who is being very accommodating in releasing G.J., but I say to Hfax. very firmly that we cannot allow Hoare to begin arguing against Cab. decisions. I make it pretty clear that, if this is attempted, I shall make serious trouble. It is most important, moreover, not to discourage the U.S.A., who at present are playing up very well about oil (they are inclined, indeed, to play almost too well, since they are now contemplating some plan whereby all exports of oil would be prohibited, though apparently there would be a loophole left through which we would get what we wanted for ourselves).

There has been a good deal of leakage, especially in the Daily Telegraph, about my postponed announcement, and I tell my Press Department that I do not object to this provided the impression is not created that either H.M.G. or the Minister for E.W. is feeble and procrastinating! I take steps later to give a carefully prepared version to Maurice Webb for the D.H.

In the afternoon V., J. and I meet à trois. J. is to give us a general picture and plan within the next two days.

P.M. has minuted on my letter to him of yesterday about C.S. (see separate note) "Good, proceed as you propose".

Later see Major Davies, in civil life connected with Courtaulds, who makes a good impression on me (he is No. 2 to Col. H. who is away in Scotland), also G.J. and Cavendish-Bentinck. This latter slightly irritates me, and I tell him that if I come on any obstruction from the F.O. or anywhere else I shall report it to the P.M. Major D. says there has been a lack of drive and decision. He obviously wants me to begin to supply these deficiencies. I find that Q. Hogg has recommended to Colonel H. that Crossman and Gordon Walker should be used to inform us about German conditions. I am surprised and amused at this, but not altogether pleased.

DIARY

26. 7. 40

H.G. says that Lees-Smith said, after my private session speech, that I was the only possible successor to the Prime Minister! This comes of the cold brutality of my speech!

D.Eccles comes to see me and talks very well about Spain and Portugal. Able and a thruster, but said also to be a social climber and a snob. Spaniards, he thought, were now dropping their isms and gazing with distaste at the Germans just across the Pyrenees. As to oil, there is a difference of view regarding figures of stocks and consumption. D.E. thinks that stocks equal to two months' supply would be reasonable and would be accepted by the Spaniards.

We make a number of jokes about Sir S.Hoare. "I was frightened", he said in Parliament in 1932 after his Corridor-for-camels plan had failed. He had stood there, making his apologia, with a bit of plaster stuck on his broken nose - he had fallen down while skating - and as he had proceeded he had begun to cry, and the tears had loosened the plaster so that, when he had left the House of Commons, audibly sobbing, he had had difficulty in finding the door. "I was frightened"! Lees-Smith, who was sitting next to me on the Front Opposition Bench, had said at this point "I never thought I should live to hear a British Foreign Secretary say such a thing in public."

This incident returns to me when Eccles says that Hoare told him that he was sure that if the Germans entered Spain they would regard him as their most important capture. "After all, I am a British ex-Foreign Secretary". He seemed to think that they would take particular delight in putting him into a Concentration Camp. Eccles relates that he replied - though perhaps he did not - "I think they would attach more value to capturing one or two good British bomber pilots." Hoare has already sent several telegrams regarding his mode of escape and, as G.J. said to me this morning, "When the first German soldier puts his foot on Spanish soil, S.H. will be in Lisbon". Every night he puts a ladder up against the garden wall before he goes to bed. Eccles said that, on receiving our last telegram, he tried to incite Selby to join him in protesting against short notice, but Selby said that there was nothing new in the policy and that it could quite easily be put over. Hoare said on the telephone "I asked for 48 hours notice and they've only given me 24. I can't make up my mind as quickly as that".

Lunch with Maisky. Quite alone. He obviously wants to get something out of me but I can't quite make out what it is. We speak of the three Baltic Republics, and I say "You ought next to

2 Lady  
Selby  
said  
in the  
Hildman  
Sonia U  
Healy U  
Missin / son down 2/70 U 5/11

arrange for an East Prussian Soviet Socialist Republic". He says, with a grin, "That will come in time". He has heard, I think from Azcarate, that C.R.A. saw Negrin and suggested to him that he should go to the U.S.A. He thinks that this was a terrible thing to say and, taken with the Burma Road incident, shows that even under this Government there is still much inclination to appeasement. I did not pursue either of these points very far. He asked how Cripps was getting on in Moscow and I said that he had had some difficulty in seeing Molotov as the latter appeared to spend most of his time with the German Ambassador. He said that the trading negotiations were very slow to start, and I said that this was not our fault. We had explained, after Cripps's talk with Stalin on July 1st, that we did not raise objections "in principle" to Russian exports of metals to Germany but would object if the quantities were large. I also touched upon Petsamo and said I did not understand why the Russians had not kept this after the Finnish War. I would prefer that the Russians, rather than the Germans, had whatever nickel there was there. I thought they had been very modest in pushing their claims against the Germans for a share in the output.

In the afternoon I see a well-informed Colonel who thinks that the Russians are in fact checking Hitler's attempt to invade this island because he does not know what they might do behind his back if he got seriously involved with us.

27. 7. 40

I inquire of G.J. what would happen if I walked in one day to the meeting of the J.I.C., put the habitual Chairman aside and myself took the Chair and harrangued the members? "They would all have fits", he said. "They would talk of nothing else in their Clubs for the next six months".

Talk with officials on oil and decide to send out one of my officials, probably Turner, to check up stocks and consumption in Spain.

28. 7. 40

Untying knots in my own mind about various alternative forms of action. A scream of a letter from Sir S. Hoare to Hfax. dated 16th July.

"Private and Personal.

Dear Edward - ..... "Spain is already so short of everything, including petrol, that even if from time to time there were a small leakage into Germany, it would be nothing as



compared with the value of keeping the Iberian Peninsula out of the war. Eccles ..... is convinced that some of the figures, for instance those dealing with petrol, upon which London is working, greatly over-estimate the Spanish stocks. ....On no account must we suggest to them that we are including them in a Continental blockade. The right approach is to start by saying that we will guarantee them all the necessaries of life as far as we can, and that we are sure that, on this assumption, they will give us all the necessary guarantees against re-export. This line of approach is very different from what the Ministry of Economic Warfare recently suggested in a telegram to me, in which they proposed that we should reverse this formula and begin by insisting on the blockade and then talking about concessions to Spain as secondary questions.....

My visit to the British community in Barcelona..... Unfortunately no-one here has bothered much about these poor people, and the ~~Consul General~~ Consul General, a Gibraltarian Jew, has been so overwhelmed with office work that he has been able to do little or nothing for them. Indeed, their treatment and their condition were seriously injuring our prestige in Spain. Accordingly, I sent up Archie James to stir them up a fortnight ago, with his very excellent newly-married wife, and when they brought me down a most depressing picture of the state of affairs, Maud and I determined to make a visit of state. We got back yesterday after a terribly heavy two days, during which we met most of the British community, entertained a great many of them, and made several speeches. It was all rather like electioneering.....I have never seen people so grateful or appreciative. As you may imagine, Maud was wonderfully good with the women, making speeches to them, arranging working parties and so on. As a part of this visit I went out of my way to see something of the two principal Spanish officials, the Captain General of the Province, and the Civil Governor. The Consul General was very nervous as to how I should be received, as the authorities, and particularly the Civil Governor, had always been hostile to the point of being insulting to him. However, they were both as polite as they could be. The General was obviously and surprisingly sympathetic to the British cause, and as to the Civil Governor, I had an hour with him on all sorts of subjects, big and small, that seemed to me to go very well. He struck me as a partisan, suddenly arrived, without experience, to a great post, and not unresponsive to the kind of approach that I made to him..... The Captain General went out of his way to pay me a return state visit, and I think the fact of his cars outside the hotel door and he inside with me for an hour will help to raise our prestige from the very low point to which it had fallen. All this may sound trivial to you....."

This letter amuses my secretaries.

G. Dean comes to see me, hearing that Newall is likely soon to go, to propose that Trenchard should succeed Sinclair and Brooke-Popham, Newall. Newall, he reminds me, has not piloted an aeroplane since 1915, has never dropped a bomb nor fired a gun in the air. He leaves with me a paper by an Australian airman explaining in detail N.'s lack of "mental ability" and his reluctance to remove incompetence from key posts. Alternatively, D. would like to see Portal made C.A.S. He tells some very funny stories about Beaverbrook. How he rings people up on the telephone and gives them most important appointments without consulting anyone at all. Nothing is ever minuted or shown to his advisers. He sends for some quite junior person, gives him some instructions, and then says, as the fellow leaves, "don't take this up the hill" (i.e., "don't let any of your superiors see it") "Just go and do it!" B. and Sinclair are said not to be on speaking terms, and B. has installed a number of thrustful business men who sit in their offices surrounded by a battery of telephones down which all day they shout objurgations and stimulating exhortations. B. had attached to him a very junior Air officer in charge of stores; taking a liking to him he suddenly appointed him to be his "military adviser". This man is now always consulted in preference to the Air Marshals, which has caused ill feeling. Undoubtedly, however, B. has been speeding up wonderfully the output of aircraft, though he has wrecked all personal relationships between his own show and the Air Ministry.

Will Davis and his wife spend the evening with us. This little man carries a great burden on his back. He is, more and more, my lynchpin. Unemployment, for the first time since 1920, has practically disappeared in my constituency. Nearly everyone is now either working on arms factories or military camps - of which a whole bunch are being constructed near Barnard Castle, or has been called up. Fortunately no large old coal pits were re-opened, for they would now have to be closed again, since France has collapsed. He says that my constituents don't particularly want to see me, believing that I am doing very good work in my Ministry, and they are now too busy working to want to come to meetings.

DIARY29. 7. 40

Colonel H. calls with Major K. I much prefer the latter. The former blinks, gobbles and snuffles and seems to be nervy and tiresome.

Talk with V. and J. We shall keep E.H. in the country. Bureaux ~~xxx~~ to be in London.

Talk with Hkey. on oil targets in France. He is good and persistent on all this, though I think now rather definitely labelled a decaying bore.

Dine with Tilea alone. He is much moved at having to give up his Legation and is remaining in England. He has a farm, he says, seven miles from Oxford. He is anxious to assist us in every possible way, and Hfax. has told him to see me on some of the ways. Hfax. is very unworldly.

30. 7. 40

N. Chamberlain is to have an operation. It seems most unlikely that he will ever return to active politics. In this fashion, under physical rather than political pressure, will be accomplished the demand that "Chamberlain must go".

Another story about S. Hoare. At Lisbon, dining with Sir Walford and Lady Selby, he was boring on, as usual, about his personal danger if the Germans entered Spain, and of the importance of arranging for his own retreat. Lady S., whom I always thought a rather tart and unpleasant woman, said "You must remember, Sir Samuel, that you are no longer a politician but have become a diplomat. When a professional diplomat is in a dangerous post, he always acts like the Captain of a sinking ship. He stays to the last". It is said that Sir S. Hoare turned very green at this remark.

P.Q.s. How bad these damned officials are! No political savvy at all! I said to two of them this morning "If I accepted your drafts, I should be howled off the Parliamentary stage. You would make me appear incompetent, ignorant and indifferent." I am making fresh arrangements whereby Morrison, Foote's P.S., shall get political directions and convey these to the draftsmen before they start their work.

I make my general statement this afternoon - delayed for five days, since last Thursday, in order to give Sir S. Hoare time to

"make up his mind" and put it over in Madrid - on compulsory Navicerts, enemy export control, etc. It is very well received and I have a good crack at Gallacher, in order to believe myself a little from the obligation always to be so polite to everybody, replying to a foolish supplementary question, "The honourable gentleman, as usual, is completely deluded". This goes very well, being greeted with the official description "Cheers and laughter".

Secret session on foreign affairs. Winston in grand form, both before and during. He now leads the whole House, unquestioned and ascendant.

Lots of Press to-day. Herbert Morrison and I lunch with Mrs Phillimore to meet the Empire Press, some 40 of them, and I make a short speech on my general statement before going off to the House. "I leave", say I, "my friend the Minister of Supply to tell you all about salvage and the women M.P.s.

After my statement, I meet the Lobby journalists and give them some background and then do the same with a bunch of American pressmen. These successive seances become a little wearisome.

In the evening J.W. and G.J. and I dine at the House. I am anxious to make them know and like each other. It goes quite well. G.J. says that Ironside, though he can speak eight languages, has a brain the size of a pea. It is a good thing that he is now only a retired Field Marshal. He also says that Van nowadays is very apt to listen to the last word.

31. 7. 40

U.S. embargo on oil exports is announced. This may sound all right to them, but may be very awkward, e.g., it may lead to a Japanese attack upon the N.E.I. and hence to a Jap war with us, or, alternatively, it may get us in some difficulties over our own supplies though I think, from the text of the statement, that there is no bar on exports via Canada.

Cripps from Moscow is grumbling that no-one will receive him. He has been kept waiting twelve days for an interview with Molotov, for which he has asked on three occasions. He is refusing to see subordinates. If this goes on, he says, he thinks he should be recalled. This is both amusing and troublesome.

Benes calls to see me at my invitation. I say that I am very delighted at the long-delayed recognition by H.M.G. of the C.S. Govt. We discuss various matters, including his Fifth Column in C.S. This is the best anti-Hitler Fifth Column in Europe. I am glad to hear that there is complete unity of direction between him and his assistants, civil and military, in this field.

G.J. says that I am known in some quarters as "Dr Dynamo"!

I spend a curious evening at Stornoway House, Beaverbrook's residence. I am invited to dine there at 9 p.m., and find, in addition to Lord B., Lord Horne, who has the delicacy not to mention any of his private interests throughout the evening; B. Lockhart, who makes up to me and is most well informed on all sorts of discussions between Ministers and their staffs, supposedly secret, which are now proceeding; Clem Davies, who thinks that L.G. ought to come back into the Government (a view which I vigorously contest on the ground that we need, not older but younger leaders, and that L.G. has lost all large following in the country now), and Hugh Seely, P.P.S. to A.S. at the Air Ministry. Lord B. is a most curious character, sitting silent for long periods while others talk and then suddenly bursting forth into violent harrangues. No doubt, however, he too is dynamic! Much of the conversation consists in running down various Ministers, particularly little Mr Cooper, whose days, B. thinks, are numbered. Perhaps B., having immensely lifted the output of aircraft by laying hands, as some allege, on all spare parts, and foreseeing that soon there may be a sharp drop in the output, is anxious to appropriate little Mr Cooper's job and then denounce his own successor. Late in the evening three more curious characters enter, Brendan Bracken, Aneurin Bevan, and Fletcher. The latter, who drives me home, says that B.B. was the real cause of the hang-up in recent arrangements regarding myself, having pressed upon the P.M. the view that no Minister should be responsible for this particular task. Lockhart had said earlier that B. had said to him "If it comes to a fight in the Cabinet between Cooper and Dalton, Dalton will win hands down."

1. 8. 40

To-day we move from discussions to decisions, and I reach a modus vivendi with little Mr Cooper. I begin by proposing to him that I should appropriate an immense kingdom, much more than I expected he would agree to. Against this he argues, not unnaturally, that he could not take responsibility in Parliament for what he did not control. I then ask him to put up an alternative plan, adding that it would be a great bore if we had to go to an umpire. We finally agree upon the line of division of Parliamentary discussion, some things, e.g., leaflets and the C.H., continuing to be barred. I hope that this will now hold firm. G.J. very active and useful interviewing First Commissioner of Works and also Generals and Admirals. He thinks the C.H. should become a zoo for foreigners. The D.N.I., he says, continues to repeat that he had a most interesting talk with me, and the D.M.I. said that he was quite surprised to find me so polite. It is a great thing to have a reputation for brusqueness.

*Cooper  
Horne*

Sir C.S. is returning by the first Clipper! His confidential Major Z. brings me a message to-day to this effect. I suggest that he should communicate his impending return to Hfax. and little Mr C. I add that I can give no undertaking that decisions will be delayed till he has got back.

~~2 days~~ Rule R. has great doubts about Crossman, but H.G., who was in the same form with him at Winchester and has known him ever since, says that he is brilliantly able, immensely energetic, and overwhelmingly ambitious, and that he will be completely loyal, for the time being, to any Chief who he thinks will aid his ambition.

DIARY2. 8. 40

Sandford comes to see me. I think well of him. He had fifteen years in France. He is now with the M. of I. Other callers are Major Kenyon, who is preparing a great screed on the technique of German intrigues abroad. I encourage him to go on; Mark Turner, whom I am sending to Spain to check up their stocks and rates of civil consumption; Colonel Donovan, who is over here for Colonel Knox, to whom I give a talk and some papers to take back to the U.S.A. on economic war in general and the European food situation in particular, explaining on this last that there will be no starvation in Europe except in so far as the Germans deliberately create it, either by **snatching** food away from particular localities, or by refusing transport to take food no great distance to localities where it is short.

I send letters to the P.M., Spears and Morton in opposition to letting food ships through to unoccupied France. Van, I find, has been in favour, but I am sure that he has jumped too quickly to a decision on this, desiring to do good to de G.

3. 8. 40

A good day. I hustle Little Mr Cooper and at last receive his reply. His officials have discontentedly nibbled a little at our main construction, but I think it best to fix things at once, and therefore I write saying "I accept" and then going on to add one or two interpretations.

I send more letters arguing against the food ships to France idea.

D.M.I. calls in the afternoon. Very friendly. He agrees to my taking over all the bureau, also that Colonel H. is impossible and should probably be sent away on sick leave. Delay and rudeness in his communications - and one most indiscreetly being rude to a third party about the D.M.I. himself. Abyssinians on the agenda again.

I also find D.M.I. very sensible about short-circuiting long winded procedure. He is quite favourably impressed by the idea of a reanimated Projects Board. I say that surely we can find a soldier who is trusted both by D.M.I. and D.M.O. He agrees.

Beaverbrook in the War Cabinet. I write and congratulate him. He is a queer chap. G.J. thinks he may be rather a nuisance to us, but I am not very apprehensive about this.

-2-

To W.L. in the evening. In this summer of war there has been more beauty in nature than I ever remember.

4. 8. 40

I worship Mithra and obstruct the designs of rabbits on my frontier.

Call on Van on way home and find him rather sorry for his tummy. He hopes to be able to come back after a few days' starvation.



DIARY5. 8. 40

Fix up V. Williams, Hambro and Lockhart.

Rather a gloomy talk to Ministers at the W.O. by Eden. Perpetual complaint about insufficient equipment everywhere. Why, however, should Italians have it and we not? I speak to H.M., who was not at this meeting, and he thinks that Eden will have given an unduly gloomy view, always remembering that we lost all the best of our equipment at Dunkirk, and have had to replace it.

A bunch of bad reports on a certain officer.

(Sound?)

6. 8. 40

Fix up Crossman. Say goodbye to Jean Monnet who is off for the U.S.A. Warn C.R.A. against movements further to increase the size of the War Cabinet by addition of L.G. This was told me by Hugh Seely. He said that both P.M. and the Beaver wanted this. I said that L.G. was much too old, had lost all grip, had dangerous views about the Peace, and had now no following in the country. Also he talked too much and would waste time in the Cabinet. I hope that this will not succeed.

7. 8. 40

Attend one of the Nathan Lunches, A.V.A. being the speaker. I find myself between little Subbotic, the Yugoslav Minister, and "His Imperial Highness the Archduke Robert of Hapsburg", a faint and effete young man. A.V.A. arrives late and we have all sat down. Then the Toastmaster calls on us to rise and announces that the First Lord is now here together with President Benes of Czechoslovakia. There is much applause at this and Robert Hapsburg has to stand with the rest, but he does not seem to have the energy to clap his hands! My conversation with him is completely anodyne, but the Jug Minister asks me to present him! This I do and leave them together afterwards. Of such incidents as this some people's memoirs wholly consist.

Tilea, now a free man, having relinquished the Rumanian Legation, comes to see me (see separate note).

8. 8. 40

Greenwood made a long and very dull and unimpressive speech yesterday, after which Shinwell was offensive and later on was squashed quite flat by E.B. Thinking there might be some fun at the Administrative Committee, I attended to-day but found Shinwell very

subdued. Therefore my carefully marked copy of Hansard and my copy of the Resolution carried at Bournemouth pledging us to "give full support to the new Government" were not needed.

In the afternoon visited by Cudahy, American Ambassador in Belgium, who is now returning to the U.S. having committed various indiscretions on the subject of impending Belgian famine. A stupid man with a hatchet face and blue eyes. He says he has got into serious trouble already, particularly on the other side of the Atlantic, by his remarks. I do not say that I am sorry. He is immensely impressed by the power of the German war machine and is obviously in a defeatist state of mind. He does not see how, he says, we can win the war. I endeavour to furnish him with some explanations, including a good deal about air power.

M. Tilea came to see me this afternoon. He attached great importance to the latest political developments in Roumania. He thought that the will to resistance against Hungarian claims had sharply revived, though the need for concessions to Bulgaria was now generally recognised. The Transylvanian leaders, he believed, were quite prepared to form a new Government which would have wide popular support, including the Iron Guard. Such a Government would resist both Hungarian and German claims and would, he thought, make it impossible for the King to contemplate any further concessions. They could blackmail Hitler by threatening, if he tried to press them further, to destroy the Roumanian oil wells.

M. Tilea suggested that we should make use of Seton Watson Junr., who was now in Bucharest, and send him unofficially to sound Maniu, Vida-Vid, Mihalache and Madgearu (I thought the last of these was dead!) and to tell them that we had made no commitments to Hungary for frontier division and had no intention of doing so.

M. Tilea also wished to be allowed to send his Private Secretary, M. Stelea, carrying messages and letters, by a British aeroplane to Alexandria, whence he could fly on to Bucharest.

He hoped that we should not make any concessions to the present Roumanian Government. We could get no advantage by doing so. He hoped, in particular, that the Bank of England would not release the Roumanian gold which they had impounded.

M. Tilea concluded by expressing the hope that the B.B.C.'s propaganda in the Balkans would become less defensive and that we should insist more vigorously on our intention and our power to win the war, and expose the German responsibility for any impending shortage of foodstuffs in Europe.

7th August, 1940.

DIARY

Next page missing!

9. 8. 40

Take my paper on Food and Blockade through the Cab. Hfax. has written me a letter saying that he is converted by the facts stated in my paper to the opinion that we should not agree to any American food ships. All goes through without opposition except that P.M. thinks the moment is not yet opportune to make the final declaration suggested by me, namely that food should go in when Hitler goes out of any part of the enslaved area. The moment for such a declaration will, no doubt, come a little later.

Dine with C.R.A. who is entertaining General Brownrigg, who was M.S. to Hore-Belisha at the W.O. and later Adjutant General to the Forces in France. He was fired by Gort on what some think insufficient grounds. He says that H.B. was always extremely difficult at the W.O., very feminine and constantly thinking of his own publicity. The famous "Hore-Belisha Reforms" were announced by him on the Thursday, but the detail was only put before him by Brownrigg and agreed, without any careful examination by him, on the Monday. He had previously been so full of the Sandys case that he had spent no time on W.O. problems. Brownrigg often had to go to his house at 12 o'clock in the morning and bring him away to perform his functions at the W.O. He was always late for everything. Dill incurred his enmity because, while commanding at Aldershot, he invited H.B. to the Aldershot Races and to luncheon at 1 o'clock. Brownrigg, as usual, could not get H.B. away in time and they arrived at 1.20. Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Mrs Brownrigg, who had arrived independently and said to Dill "Oh, my husband says that the Secretary of State is always late. I am sure he won't expect you to wait", they had sat down to lunch. H.B. was mortally offended and this was why Dill was not made C.I.G.S. until much later.

It was also true that he used to ring the bell and summon Generals into his presence and then ignore them, keeping them standing to attention for a considerable time, while he continued to write or to read the paper. Then, every now and again, he became embarrassingly matey and used to say "Ha! ha! Brownrigg, you and I have always been great pals, haven't we?" His final upset was due to his coming out to France and trying to be, like Hitler, a great authority on all the details of fortifications, pill-boxes, etc.

10. 8. 40

I go to the Country House, motoring down with Van, who is not at all fit, having duodenitis. He is quite keen about Nelson.

G.J. and J.W. come down by another car in the afternoon and we have a conference with Leeper, V.W. and Brooks. Great opposition is being raised down here to the idea of some of the staff moving to London to do the broadcasts. I get rather bored with all this, but consent to the matter being re-opened by Leeper with the M. of I.

Later we have Voigt, Murray and Barman in to talk about their stuff. V. and M. in particular make a good impression.

11. 8. 40

Wcjm  
More conferences with members of the C.H. staff. Gyuri comes, at my request, to lunch with one or two more. I have also had a talk with Crossman. We must get our affairs moving quickly now. The outline of the personnel of several of the bureaux is now in a fair way to being settled.

Come back with G.J. and J.W. by car and return feeling very sleepy.

DIARY12. 8. 40

Wavel calls. Only one eye and a grim unsmiling expression, but no doubt quite a good General. He complains of things being done in his Command of which he knows nothing. He says we never spend enough on arms in time of peace, and that is why, at the beginning of every war, we have a bad time. It is not only along the coast road that the Italians can attack in Libya, but across a 50 miles strip of sandy country hard enough to carry their mechanised columns. Their great problem will be water. I ask what will happen if Alexandria becomes untenable. He says that he does not think it will, but adds that the only alternative is Haifa, which is not really good enough.

Surpluses Sub-Committee meets in the afternoon. Greenwood and I manoeuvre the thing through a host of Under-Secretaries and officials from innumerable Departments. I, Boothby, and Crookshank are to be a sub sub-Committee to put in shape work to be done by a small secretariat of four persons, Hemming, Robinson and Durbin - all of Greenwood's circus - and Rowe from mine. This is quite a triumph.

Ministers meeting at No.10. P.M. says that he is feeling much more confident than two months ago. Our defences in this island have been immensely improved. The equipment is still short of what we should like, but is ~~is~~ rapidly increasing. Our convoys in the Channel which the Nazis have been attacking have been decoys. We have deliberately invited these attacks and had our Fighter aircraft suitably disposed to meet them. The convoys have consisted of small vessels only, all manned by naval ratings. We must speak and act on the basis of another year of war anyhow. Meanwhile, discussions of what is to happen afterwards are premature.

13. 8. 40

G.J. has seen Ismay, who says that Dill is tired and that the W.O. machine is not working too well. There are great rivalries and cross purposes within the War Office. Q.Hogg tells me the same tale. He says that no-one anywhere will take a decision. I suspect that the W.O. is, in these respects, a good deal worse than either of the other two.

14. 8. 40

I stay away from the Party Meeting at which Shinbad the Tailor is attacked for too acid and egoistic criticism of his colleagues in the Government. The attack is led, in an amiable fashion, by Walkden, who, however, quotes the Bournemouth resolution pledging the Labour Party to give "full support to the new Government". At a later stage John Wilmot joins in the attack, I am told in a most mellifluous manner, and after S. has attempted to reply Jimmy Walker brings down an intellectual mallet upon his head. The whole thing is thought by my friends to have passed off well, and it is likely that, for a little while to come, this man will be less of a nuisance.

Citrine to lunch. He thinks that H.M. is the least satisfactory of the Labour Ministers, and he hints that I am the best. He says that the statement I made to the N.C.L. the other day on the work of my Department was the best that they had heard. H.M., he says, is much too much entangled with his officials. He is disinclined to see people without them. (This is a thoroughly bad habit which, from the very beginning, I have refused to adopt. I never permit an official to be present when I am speaking to a colleague. If points of detail arise, they can be followed up afterwards, but a Minister should know enough about his Department to be able to conduct at least preliminary discussions without officials.)

The Greek Minister calls in a state of great concern. Metaxas has expressed "pained surprise" at my last communication, in which I have shown reluctance to agree in advance to German-Greek trade talks. I discuss with this poor man the importance of chrome and give him a half permission for his trade talks, reserving, however, all our rights.

G.J. has drafted a very good report for C.R.A. on our activities up to date. It makes quite a good story.

15. 8. 40

Pierre Cot, who is on the point of leaving for America, comes to see me. He thinks that the reason why the German airmen are so very inferior to ours is because they have had fewer hours of training and that this in turn is due to their shortage of oil.

16. 8. 40

Two air-raid warnings. Take two hours off my working day. My "War Room" in the basement is not yet finished, although, as I write indignantly to Tryon, in three weeks' time we shall have been at war for twelve months.

I preside at a meeting of the Labour Party Policy Committee, when little Laski has a bad time from several of our Trade Union members. He has produced an academic little paper urging that, in order to raise the morale of the people, the Bank of England and the land should be nationalised. It is replied that, whatever the arguments in favour of doing these things may be - and they are well known to all of us - raising moral is not one of them. This is better done by Air Force victories, by full employment, by better dependent's allowances, by improvements in Workmen's Compensation, and by modifications in the Means Test. He goes away with his little tail between his little legs.

C.S. comes to see me, and I hand him an official letter (see separate note). He takes it all very well and at once begins discussing new possibilities, such as C.G. in New York, or running a new broadcasting station in Canada. He goes on to see G.J., with whom he begins his conversation by saying "What a nice man your Minister is!"

17. 8. 40

Write to V.W. and send a Minute to Leeper on arrangements in the country. G.J. volunteers that he likes J.W. very much and is amazed when I tell him that he left school at 14. As between J.W. and H.G., he says that the latter is much more intelligent, but the former has a much better judgment.

The move of Hfax., I hear, from the Dorchester to the F.O. will be a relief to his officials. At the D., they say, he leaves important F.O. telegrams in the lavatory and the most secret intercepts lying about on the floor when he goes out of the room. The officials have always to be dashing round in his immediate wake collecting his "confidential waste". Also, they say, he is most unguarded in his conversations with unknown people, some of whom may well be enemy agents. He will let himself be accosted by anyone whose face he has seen before, as he emerges from the lift at the D., and will converse with them in the most indiscreet fashion. I ask why a man who has been Viceroy of India plus a number of other things should still be so simple. G.J. says that he thinks it is just because he has been Viceroy. In India no-one was allowed to come anywhere near him who had not been most carefully seeded, and he therefore got into the habit of thinking that he could speak freely



-4-

to all within reach.

As I am starting for a day in the country I read in an evening paper that the R.A.F. has been to Leuna and done great damage. This is magnificent news, for which I have been working and waiting for many months.

18. 8. 40

Back from W.I. in the evening and find that I ran through Thatcham yesterday within ten minutes of an "air raid", though this only consisted of half a dozen bombs dropped in empty fields.

DIARY19. 8. 40

I plan for to-morrow a tremendous barrage against myself in the House of Parliamentary questions designed to emphasise my case for the blockade. (This goes off very well next day and is a good prelude to the P.M.'s speech.)

20. 8. 40

Go to a Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey for the Australian Ministers killed in the air crash at Canberra. A very flat performance. Nothing to suggest that they were Australians. No shaft of southern sun, no faintest smell of the Bush, no shimmer of the sea from the long beaches.

This afternoon the P.M. makes a great speech in the House in which he has a passage on Blockade and on Food and Freedom going into Europe together which was lifted almost bodily from my brief supplied to him before the weekend. It could not have been better put.

This evening I see R.A.B. and, making no formal complaint, comment upon the slowness of F.O.officials. He says that we have the reputation in the F.O. of always hustling and brow-beating them upon the telephone, so that red faced and flustered men rush into his room saying that the Minister of Economic Warfare and his minions are on their tails again. He says that it is particularly demoralising to these poor creatures when we ring up the Private Secretaries' Room at the F.O., for there no-one ever knows anything about the details of any problem, and they merely start to run around the corridors in high dismay. He thinks the best plan would be to give some one F.O.official the job of answering our telephone communications

*Common*  
*Keefe* Long talk to J.W. and H.G. on personnel. C. and R.L. do not like each other. The whole thing is a frightful bore, and meanwhile G. is away with a chill.

21. 8. 40

*Slack*  
With G. to meet the C.O.S. The Chiefs are absent, but the Deputies are all there. I thought the meeting a bit sticky, but I hear afterwards that they thought it was very successful. They are not, poor things, very voluble, particularly in the presence of slightly suspicious strangers. They accept my plan, however, and seem to like it.

Endless jaw to-day with J.W. and G. about the Bureau and Crossman and others. Finally, G. suggests that we should interchange C. with V. and that this should meet most difficulties. This now I must try to negotiate. *Crossman & Voigt*

In the afternoon go with R.V. to see Hfax. and his Man Friday. The purpose of the talk is to discuss how rude we can be to the men of Vichy. The answer is "as rude as you like". Hfax. says, wonderingly and with a faint far smile, "I have often wondered whether it would not have been possible to bribe Mussolini, but I do not think we could ever have offered him enough to tempt him, and Lorraine always disliked the idea of offering anything to Ciano. He never felt able to hand him £50,000 on the golf links."

22. 8. 40

*Grand*  
See King Bomba in the morning. Not a very agreeable interview (see separate note). He says he must have time to think over what I have said to him. I treat him politely though formally and hint at the end that he is lucky to be given time to think it over. Crossman comes to see me and takes it very well. He does not mind being turned round with V. I have written to R.V. that there are three reasons why I cannot agree to throw C. out of the window. -

- (1) because I think he has good qualities,
- (2) because on principle I cannot agree that, if one or two of my officials do not like a man whom I like, I can give way to them,
- (3) because, if I did, there would be serious "political repercussions" including probably ~~facts of~~ *attacks on* me and my advisers in certain factious organs of the press. *VM*

G. says that one of the troubles with V. is that his wife is jealous of everyone else and is constantly inciting him to nurse new grievances and jealousies - not least of some younger than himself. This is particularly reprehensible, since he himself got high promotion very young.

I lunch at the Drapers to-day and am initiated as a member of the Court.

23. 8. 40

A good day! Voigt has been squared by G. and agrees to the new interchange with Crossman. He is also much reassured to hear that my first war aim is victory. He had been afraid that I had some very pedantic cut-and-dried peace settlement to be imposed.

See R.L. in the afternoon. He says that all the persons concerned in the shuffle have taken it very well, so that at last we seem to be approaching a settlement. V. Williams, who is still in hospital, may not like it very much but, if not, he will have to lump it.

24. 8. 40

Calls in the morning from Cadett and Macartney. Rather a contrast in styles, and I prefer, for this job, the former, but no doubt both will do quite well. C. tells me that Barnam has been trying to intermeddle with appointments in the country. I tell R.L. that this must stop.

I despatch a most violent Minute to A.G. on surplus (see separate note). I complain -

- (green word)*
- (a) that his officers have fallen behind the time-table agreed upon,
  - (b) that they have only produced, even too late, two "paltry and jejune" papers,
  - (c) that they have sent these papers out without my prior approval, and
  - (d) "Your staff do not appear to work on Saturday morning. There was no-one in the office this morning except the unfortunate Durbin, who has only just arrived".

Having thus let off some steam, I proceed to Oxford and spend the night at All Souls, whither Hudson and Rouse have invited me. It is quite a pleasant break from the Ministry and they are much interested in political gossip, but, somehow, one feels from their comments that they are far out of touch with any of our real problems. I am favourably impressed by Lathan, who is working temporarily at the F.O. as P.S. to Lytton on aliens. He is Left-minded and thinks very well of H.G. who, he says, was always intended to make a perfect Private Secretary to a Minister. "There is", he says, "something velvety about Gaitskell".

25. 8. 40

Back from Oxford in the afternoon and complete draft telegram for Washington with aid of Sporborg, one of my better officials. I have A.G.'s office rung up and find there is nobody there except a night watchman. This is at 7 p.m.

I had said to H.G. two days ago, in connection with some F.O. official arrangement, "You must give me credit for sometimes being subtle. He says "The trouble is that you are subtle one day

and brutal the next."

26. 8. 40

I am 53 years old to-day, my first birthday as a Privy Councillor. I celebrate it by much hustling and rowing about surpli. I send a second Minute to A.G. proposing that Durbin should be hauled across from his office to mine and should work under my close personal supervision along with Rowe to finish the job within a few days.

In the morning G. McKenzie comes to see me and is rather pleased with what he finds in the Hemming Circus. Hemming himself calls in the afternoon to seek to offer explanation and excuses, but I am not very agreeable nor at all convinced. It is a sloppy show and they have played the fool over this piece of work. Now, therefore, I will take it in hand and get it done myself and they can go and ...

Brig. Windham calls to see me. He appears very decayed and half-witted - he was an exact contemporary of mine at Eton and wholly undistinguished there - but I am told that he is much better than he seems.

27. 8. 40

Meeting of P.O.G. Too many people there and no real need for the meeting. There is only one thing to be done with German oil supplies, and that is to destroy them. This is an old conclusion. "More bombs and less stats.", as I have said before. I am hounding on Durbin and Rowe with their work on surpli. In the afternoon B. Lockhart comes to see me. He is acting as British agent to Czech Government as well as Head of my Bureau within the P.I.D.

28. 8. 40

R. and I lunch in Putney with President and Madame Benes. Recognition has made a great difference. They are much the best prepared of all the enslaved lands for sabotage now and a mass rising later. This, he thinks, could best be signalled when British planes flown by Czech airmen go over their cities dropping here leaflets and there bombs. The first Czech squadrons are flying already.

Gillies to dine with me and we talk about the émigrés. Some of these are already a great nuisance and will get worse rather than better. On the other hand, I should like to secure help from Saxe, who is about the best of the bunch.

29. 8. 40

An excellent day. Lots of hustle! H.G., who had been very doubtful about my proceedings these last few days, is quite won over and enthusiastic. "You have been in very good form", he says, and adds that one reason why my Minutes give pain to some is because they are written in such good English! E.D. is also said to be much impressed.

I have now got the appendices to the surpli almost ready and hold a meeting this afternoon with Crockshank and Boothby, L.R., Catto and Hutton also attending, whereat the rest of us bid down the stupid opposition of the Treasury to sending any telegram to Lothian until after the American elections in November! Catto is very persistent and, I think, very very stupid. (I am told that when this little man is seen trotting round the Treasury with little Kingsley Wood, whom he advises, the world says "There go Catto and Doggo".) The little man says that they have heard from Philips, the Treasury bloke who has just come back from Washington, that the Administration don't want to discuss anything involving money until after the elections. I say that on the contrary Lothian's reports are that they would welcome an approach on surpli; also that I am sure it was never in the minds of the Ministerial Committee that we should do nothing for more than three months; on the contrary, they responded to my desire for a hustle; also that, if the Admn. want to hold off, they can tell Lothian so and we need not try to play their own hand for them; also, finally, I say to Catto "You are becoming a tremendous politician, but I should have thought that there were votes for the Admn. in a policy for surpli which would offer something to their own producers. Finally, I send off the three officials to hammer out something among themselves and get the agreement of the two politicians - this is a great bluff which H.G. thought could never succeed - to let me make my own report to the full Ministerial Committee and send it in in my own name without further consultation. They take this quite well. Further - and this shocks H.G. even more, though later he is astonished at the success of my manoeuvre - that Greenwood's staff should be short-circuited altogether and that the report should be sent direct by me from this Ministry to the members of the Committee. All that Greenwood's staff will do will be on our instructions to send out the summons to the meeting. A nice little lesson in cutting through red tape. A.G., to whom I speak on the telephone, accepts it all without demur, and I finish off a friendly conversation by telling him that I have seen C.R.A. and take a strongly adverse view of the Beaver's present manoeuvres.

This last conversation is in the evening. Earlier, I saw C.R.A. and had a most satisfactory conversation with him. He has told the P.M. that he has had a report from me and considers that I am doing very well in building up a new machine, etc. He agrees that he will tell the P.M. that he has had a further talk with me and

that I want to see the P.M. within a few days to make a report. I shall then write to the P.M. myself and then, unless summoned, break through to him one day next week.

P.M. says that all the Generals, Admirals and Air Marshals are useless and that he will have his own Planning Committee, containing bright and rather more junior lads drawn from the three Services. C.R.A. and the Beaver will sit with him, since the burden of Minister of Defence would lie too heavily on one pair of shoulders. The B. is constantly engaged in intrigue against all his colleagues in turn. C.R.A. is dining with him to-night, and "if he puts out a paw I shall hit it hard". His immediate object of intrigue is A.G., but he is reported to have said that he would soon get both C.R.A. and A.G. out of the Cabinet. Meanwhile, says C.R.A., he is most oleaginously friendly to him. I said that this was the first National Government that we had ever had and he could take it that if any attempt was made to act as suggested, there would be a first-class political row which could not be kept secret and would play into the hands of those elements in our Party who have always been averse from our participation.

C.R.A. gives a most amusing account of a meeting at which the P.M. roasted Mr Pick, who had adopted a self-righteous and very high moral tone regarding methods of propaganda. "Nothing tendentious", etc. The P.M. had finally said "I am indeed honoured to sit at the same table with a man who so closely resembles Jesus Christ, but I want to win the war".

Nelson reports this morning that he has now taken charge and finds in his Department good personnel but no organisation whatever.

DIARY30. 8. 40

G. has the first meeting of his D Board. It is said to have gone well. I veto C. Bentinck as a proposed member of the Board. G. is quite enough to maintain F.O. contact.

Some discussion of the Surplus problem. H.G. despises A.G. for not defending his staff against my abusive attacks.

31. 8. 40

See Gutt, Belgian Finance Minister, who wants us not to refuse to let food into Belgium but to propose conditions of its entry which would be unacceptable to Germans. I think this is a little disingenuous. Also see Revesz who has a grandiose plan for a S.American news agency. I pass him on to Leeper.

The report on Surpli is at last finished.

Lothian is very weak in discussion with Roosevelt on entry of food into unoccupied France. He does not seem to have put any of the right arguments, even though P.M. clearly stated our case as lately as August 20th. I arrange for a stiffening telegram to be sent to L.

Hoare is another very weak vessel in Madrid. He asks for ship after ship to be let through. If I left it to him there would soon be no blockade left. I look forward to a time when I may say, if Spain enters the war and he returns and criticises our blockade, "When you were a Minister and I was not, you let everything into Italy, so that she became a store-house of war materials for the enemy. Now, since I have been a Minister and you have not, you have wanted the same policy in Spain, but I have succeeded in preventing it."

I spend an hour on the roof looking out over London. Distant fires and flickers but no very great bombardment.

1. 9. 40

Lunch at the Mirabell with Foot to meet A. Sinclair. It goes very well and we all are very co-operatively conspiratorial. It seems that the idea of bringing L.G. into the War Cabinet has faded out a bit. A.S. says the excuse was that L.G. was a man of the Left, so he would do something to balance Beaverbrook. I said that was all rubbish; L.G. was much too old, inclined to be a Petain, pro-German, anti-French, anti-Polish and anti-Benes. All the wrong



things. If the Left needs strengthening in the War Cabinet, I suggested they should bring in A.S. and another of us. I think he took the hint.

2. 9. 40

Conference at F.O. with Hfax. and five of his officials. He refers to my letter to him abusing Hoare as H.M. Spanish Ambassador in Madrid. I say that he never seems able to put the case of H.M.G. or to get the Spaniards to play the game. I also speak to Hfax. about Lothian and the milk, etc., for unoccupied France. I urge that we should stand, as a first line, on the proposition that there need be no famine in any part of Europe this winter unless the Germans deliberately create it. L. should try to make the President change his mind on this subject. If we should be driven back from this first line, let us stand on the second line of inventing a system of guarantees which will seem plausible to the Americans but will not be accepted either by the Germans or the French, e.g., the entry of British agents, along with Americans, to supervise distribution. But the time for this has not yet come.

3. 9. 40

With Hankey and Lloyd to visit the Bomber Command. Nicely tucked away and very impressive. I think well of Portal, who is very intelligent, quiet and receptive; also reasonably young. This is not a dramatic place like the Fighter Command, but there is a good deal to see and hear, photos., etc. It is still thought in high quarters that the invasion will be attempted; Dill is particularly sure about this. P. says "Ever since the start of the war I have never heard a bomb. I think I must take some leave and spend it at Dover". As the nights have lengthened, our bombers can now reach almost to the extreme east of Germany and return almost without loss under cover of the dark. We have lately had some very effective raids upon forests in which have been hidden arms factories and great dumps of ammunition.

Ministerial sub-Committee on surplus meets and, although it seems very slow to me, I am told by those who have attended many such meetings that it goes very well. Agreed to send telegrams to Washington and to accelerate the making of reports on commodities and areas so as to finish within a fortnight. They are a little shy of my proposal to create a Commissioner for Surplus, who should not be a Minister but responsible to a committee of Ministers and advised by a committee of Civil Servants. I agree that he should not be called a Commissioner! I say to myself that if I can think of a good name or two I will propose them to A.G. and he can propose them to the Cabinet without reference back to this large meeting.

At 10.30 this evening I go to see P.M. at No.10 Downing Street. I wished, before going on leave, to make an oral report to him, following upon a brief written report, of some of my proceedings. But I don't get much chance! He is much more anxious to talk than to listen, and walks up and down the room pouring forth a flow of his usual vigorous rhetorical good sense. "This is a workmen's war.....the public will stand everything except optimism.....the nation is finding the war is not so unpleasant as it expected....The air attacks are doing much less damage than was expected before the war began.....don't be like the knight in the story who was so slow in buckling on his armour that the tourney was over before he rode into the ring." While I am there he also rings up Lord Portal and asks him to become an additional under-secretary at the Ministry of Supply to help H.M. with control of raw materials. Then he calls for Peck, a young man who is one of his secretaries, and demands that he shall show us air photographs on a screen. These show the guns at Cape Grisnez, the docks at Emden and Wilhelmshaven, etc. The P.M. is childishly pleased with these and also with the mechanism itself. He says "Peck you must get some new photographs every day and show them to me every evening". He is a child of genius. When the Grisnez photograph comes on, he detects a German car travelling along the road, puts his finger upon it and cries "Look, there is a horrible hun. Why don't we bomb him?" He is very vexed at the difficulties of communication with France. He says "I can't even find an American who would take a letter from me to General Georges. It would be quite a short letter. I should simply say, as Thiers said, "On pensez toujours! On parlez jamais!" The P.M.'s French is incorrect but intelligible and he rushes forward without hesitation or pedantry. "He would understand that. I should need to say no more. I know that man and a message from me would make a difference to him. I know how he must be feeling."

4. 9. 40

Va-

*Stadys*

Rather a boring discussion with V. who grumbles about G., saying that he always knew from the start that he would not be kept in touch with this side of our work. He is "not everybody's cup of tea", he says, to which I reply that he is very much mine. V. says that his manner seems to many rather off-hand and his youth is a cause of jealousy. He is, in fact, just forty though he looks less, and I remind V. how glad we all were in 1929 when he himself came along to replace old Lindsay. V. says that someone - I am pretty sure from the tone of the tale that it was B.B. - came into his Miss D.'s room the other day and asked what was all this racket of G.'s. Miss D., drawing herself up very primly, had replied "I am sure that nothing could be called 'racket' with which Sir Robert is associated." To this the visitor had said that ~~the visitor~~ Sir Robert knew nothing of what was going on. This is all cheek and nonsense,

but it had obviously had some effect upon V. I tell G. afterwards that he must work hard to remove this impression (subsequently it seems he does.)

5. 9. 40

To W.L. for what is supposed to be a fortnight's leave. Take with me the Russian comic novel "Diamonds to Sit On" and some books on Cromwell. Walk to Marlborough, work in the garden and, just occasionally, have telephone conversations with London (the war has destroyed my solitude by compelling me to instal a telephone here.)

10. 9. 40

R. comes down by car in the afternoon and tells me that there has been considerable bombing. I think it my duty to come up and make arrangements about my staff. I arrive that evening and sleep in the flat, hearing a good deal of distant reverberation.

11. 9. 40

Hold a conference at M.E.W. with Foot, L.R., Drogheda and a few others and tell them to get more beds and bedding and arrange for as many of the staff who wish to do so, with reasonably good grounds, to sleep in. I then return to the country.

15. 9. 40

G.J. comes to lunch to discuss business. He seems to have re-established quite good relations with V. I take him for a quick walk through the village and up the Southward, delighting myself with walking briskly up the hill until he asks me not to walk so fast. This is a favorite trick of mine to play on these younger than myself.

16. 9. 40

J.W. and H.G. come by car to spend the night. We go out for a walk along the high road to Woodsend. I make H.G. ask me not to walk so fast and then suggest to him that we should run instead, but he does not like this idea either. They have both been down to the Country House for the weekend and report that progress is slowly, but only slowly, being made.

17. 9. 40

Drive up from W.L. with J.W. and H.G. Arrive in Berkeley Square where we find that at 10.15 last night a bomb crashed right in our front entrance, killing two Home Guards on my staff, flinging a mass of sand and sand-bags over everything, making a crater into the basement, and smashing nearly all glass in front, including my own room, and tearing up quantities of railings and stone work opposite. Upstairs everything is a mass of broken glass, burst window frames, tattered curtains and general mess. I take refuge for some days in Lord Finlay's room and start sleeping in the basement in my War Room. This is well ventilated and proof against most hits or sound, though occasionally I am rocked in my sleep by distant bursts.

All this is rather disturbing to the work of the Ministry, but the spirit is generally cheerful. On the other side of the Square two Georgian houses are completely destroyed by a delayed-action bomb which turns them into a mass of brick dust, charred match-wood. There are also other fires and explosions all around the neighbourhood. Hitler seems to have a special spite against drapers' shops in Oxford Street.

J.W., with his usual ingenuity, discovers the Lansdowne Club, slightly derelict, across the Square, and he and I tend to have breakfast there and occasionally an evening meal also. The only other denizens appear to be an old colonel who acts as Secretary and a few naval officers.

18. 9. 40

Decide to dismiss King <sup>Grand</sup> Bomba, who has been completely disloyal to his new chief. Two officers in uniform, unwilling to put anything on paper, come and tell me, V., and G. all about it. V. says that he is sure it is right to get rid of him now, though he advised earlier to give him another chance. I send him a brief and unargumentative letter, since if I see him he will only falsify the interview, as happened before.

It is also decided to move all the staff primarily concerned with propaganda from Lansdowne House to the country. There they will all be together. V. is rather reluctantly converted to this idea, which, however, is urged on him by my other two advisers.

20. 9. 40

To Bishop Auckland, where I stay till the morning of 23.9.40.

I address five meetings in two days organised by the Ministry of Information, though in fact they are very like the usual Labour meetings so far as the platform and most of the audience is concerned. Very successful. They have suffered little from bombing in S.W. Durham and practically everyone is now at work earning pretty good wages on construction of new aircraft works, military camps, roads, etc. There are also many soldiers in the area and a good deal of money is circulated. Never have I known the place so prosperous. At Shildon less than 100 are now on the live register. It takes a war to do this! They are all in very good heart though wishing to be reassured as to the accuracy of the published statements on German and British air losses.

23. 9. 40

R. returns from W.L. and I bring her to sleep in my War Room, since there is no other quickly obtainable secure accommodation. This is slightly irregular but may pass for once! I find that King Bomba has written a letter demanding reasons for my decisions and suggesting that his appointment or dismissal is a matter to be decided by the War Cabinet. This is damned cheek and quite baseless!

I have a talk with C.R.A., who suggests that I should mention this case to the P.M. who, he thinks, will pay great attention to reports of disloyalty and evidence to that effect by officers.

DIARY

Dalton I 28 (53)

25. 9. 40

I have a good report on the parasites (of No.10). They seem to have been driven back. P.M. is reported to have said that he "won't have a quarrel with Dalton over this". I must, however, see him and leave a note on the affair.

*Pinney* R.V., earlier content with R.L. and discontent<sup>ed</sup> with G., is now switching, which amuses me a good deal. Long delays and circumlocutions in the country irritate both R.V. and me. I send two sharp minutes to R.L., one on his failure to move P., which I originally ordered on August 19th, and one on need for speed in getting out leaflets. He goes next day to Denham and cries on V's shoulder that he feels he has neither his confidence nor mine. V. tries to console him and asks me to show him some "sign of esteem". I suppose this means asking him out to lunch.

All this morning at National Executive. Slow but smooth. At 5 p.m. I am visited by Mademoiselle Nicolle and Mademoiselle Terre (see separate dossier). They come ostensibly to propose that food, soap and oil in very small quantities should be let through the blockade into Vichy France. I am not at all accommodating on this and have some difficulty in getting rid of them. They do not make at all a good impression on me, and next day I read in the Daily Express that they have been arrested as spies. This leads me to write a rather sharp note to Hfax later, complaining that Hoare not only gives me more trouble than any other British diplomat over my blockade, but facilitates the movements of women, whom he should have known were spies, from Vichy France to London, in order to try and break down the blockade in France.

26. 9. 40

Lunch at Belgian Embassy. Gutt, Vleeschauer and Amb all protest too much. They do not make a good impression on me. They all hate G. Huysmans and say so too loudly. We must set a time-limit to this equivocation, and either have a proper Belgian Government in this country, fighting the war as our allies, and saying so, or we must set up a Belgian National Committee.

*Becker* I ask G. to arrange for King B. to be sent some distance off. Of the destinations suggested, I prefer Hongkong to Ireland. It seems that "the Prof." was the biggest nigger in this woodpile. He was very close with King B., hating Government Departments and loving irregular routes, and thinking in terms of personalities. B.B., whom we suspected earlier, has now been much worked upon by R.V. and by G. - more worked upon, perhaps, than he is worth. But it is likely, I think, that he is now neutralised. A rumour circulates

that King B., who has now written me a rather crawling and friendly letter, has been announcing that after two months of well-deserved leave, he is to be given a post in the War Cabinet secretariat. This is too much and I ask G. to work on D.M.I. to get him posted quickly far away. Clearly King B. knows he has lost the other game involving an appeal against my right to push him out. "This shows", I say to G., "that firmness pays". "Yes", he replies, "King B. is very like a native. We shall have to send you out to govern Bombay!"

Dakar is a mess. Some say Spears should be shot. I think this a bit harsh. Perhaps, if anyone is to be shot, it should be some Admiral, or the foolish French around de G. who tell their women all the secrets and, at a dinner party, in the presence of waiters, on the eve of the departure of the expedition, all raise their glasses "a Dakar".

27. 9. 40

Last night the Cabinet War Room was nearly hit by a large shell. There is gloom and despondency over the Dakar fiasco. The Beaver is also said to be very low, suffering from asthma and keeping his room. They have hit two of his important aircraft factories. He has written a memorandum for the War Cabinet like a Daily Express article. "Not another man or another plane should be sent out of this island. We should sit tight and defend ourselves until the U.S.A. come into the war". He is inclined, moreover, to be very defeatist - so G. learns confidentially from C.P. Partly temperament, no doubt, but partly, perhaps, the rich man thinking of his worldly possessions, toying with the notion of a peace which would preserve these.

Chamberlain  
P. C. H. K.

28. 9. 40

To Manchester to address the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Regional Council of Labour. They are a good sound lot, with only a sprinkling of freaks, and even these not very freakish freaks. I answer a great number of questions when the Press have left, and little George Tomlinson, in the Chair, says to the delegates at the end, "Well anyhow you can't say you haven't had a Cabinet Minister who didn't play fair with you."

Spend evening with Reg. Wallis, who is very quick and intelligent, quite one of our best organisers.

29. 9. 40

Take things easily and return from Manchester by road, leaving a note on C.M. at Matlock.

Chas. Mayhew

30. 9. 40

I send a violent note to Hfax. over Hoare and the two French women, now arrested.

Lunch with H.M. and exchange ideas. He is not, I think, very happy in the Ministry of Supply. He is interested, as so many are, in possibilities in Spain and asks what contacts I have there. The answer is not as good as it should be, but better than some weeks ago.

1. 10. 40

Cab. Dakar. Admirals and F.O. must share the blame, the first for failing to communicate movements of French ships in time. (It is not true that we deliberately let them through the Straits; they got through before we knew they were coming.) F.O. clerks deciphering, when the air-raid warning went, locked up and put away their ciphers and then descended below ground, remaining there for hours inactive. Hence a great delay in deciphering and circulation of important telegrams, one at least of which contained four warnings of French naval movements. Had not these French ships got first to D., we should have taken it without resistance, but they got there first, arrested all the leaders of the de G. Movement, who commanded a majority among the population, and, worst of all, put ashore trained gun crews to take charge of the shore batteries, which fired with inconvenient accuracy upon our ships - even in thick fog, by means of a most ingenious device with a listening post attached to a buoy whose range was known. Richelieu's guns also came into action, but, not being well calibrated, did not hit - fortunately, for each shell weighs a ton. Richelieu clearly has not been put out of action, and if she should sail north, since she is "the best built ship in the world", according to our First Sea Lord, she would be a most awkward proposition. But against the general background of the war, Dakar is a triviality.

R. Makins to lunch. He is in charge of Belgium and Spain, among other countries, at the F.O. I always thought well of him and still do so. He says, quite truly, that Hoare is additionally eager to keep Spain out of the war because, if she comes in, his career is finally ruined. He does not think we could get much more war effort out of the Belgians than we are doing now. In the afternoon take Drogheda and J. Nicholls to the F.O., where we confer with Hfax. and officials on Hoare's griefs over the blockade. Quite a satisfactory conference, ending in an agreement that a telegram should be sent to Hoare telling him how kind I am and what complaints has he still left.

A meeting of Ministers to whom P.M. explains present



North Sea

situation. Invasion "menace" still remains, and will, so long as Germans have in that long row of ports transport enough to put half a million men on board and in the Channel and ~~near~~ seas on any night they choose.<sup>10</sup> But, as the weather breaks and the season advances, the invasion must surely seem to them more and more difficult. (It seems clear that it was definitely projected for September 15th, but that at the last minute they decided that they had better not.) As my driver says his daughter says, "Hitler's got the words, but he can't get the music right". I had a date with the P.M. after this Ministers' meeting at which I wished to speak to him on S.O.E., with a passing word on King B., and then leave documents with him. But he asks me to "let him off" until next week, being pressed and weary, though smiling and friendly. This, however, is a bit of a bore and I decide to send to him, with copy to C.R.A., to-night, the document I should have left with him. I blame some of his entourage for failure to interest him, in the right way, in some of the things I wish to tell him.

2. 10. 40.

Cab. in morning. Hfax., without Cadogan who is on leave, is inclined to have wild and woolly ideas. So G. says. He "holds colloquies" with Sargent but is not kept straight by him as by Cadogan. This morning he proposed a public statement that, at the end of the war, we should be disposed to discuss Gib with the Spaniards and that this was regarded by us as purely an Anglo-Spanish affair. All present, for a variety of reasons, objected to this. "Does anyone think that if we win the war, opinion here will consent to hand over Gib to the Dons? and, if we lose, we shall not be consulted" (P.M.). Further, such a publication would lead to embarrassing debate in Parliament, where the strategic Imperialists would combine with the Reds to denounce H.M.G. and Franco. This would completely frustrate Hfax.'s hopes of good will and furnish magnificent material for the Germans. At the least, it would lead to embarrassing definitions of the meaning of "discussion". C.R.A. thought that, in any case, it was not a purely Anglo-Spanish question, but an international one. P.M. agreed that if, after the war, we could build up some great new Council of the Nations, with a strong secular army, and an appropriate Tribunal, we might then indeed place Gib and other strong points under some international regime. But we were still very far from that point. Further, it was held that such a public statement would seem jittery. Hfax., therefore, was unanimously overruled, a thing I have seen happen before.

He announced earlier agreement with me on sending a telegram to Hoare about the alleged "delays" over navicerts, etc. This is a distinct victory for me over Hoare's attempted aggression against my blockade! I likewise succeed in stalling off Baudouin's suggestion, conveyed through Madrid, that we should let food into unoccupied France. A reply is being sent to Vichy which, inter alia, undertakes

merely to "study" (there was much discussion as to the right word; this one was suggested by Eden) any proposals which they may make for improved "trade exchanges" between French colonies and Vichy France.

Speak at a Nathan lunch. This, in a world of shrunken oratorical opportunities, is one of the best now left. All on M.E.W. A tepid audience anyhow, but I gather that my remarks were pretty well received (except by Sir R. Storrs, who came up to G., thinking no doubt that he was still merely a Foreign Office official and therefore inclined to be critical of M.E.W., and made some disobliging remarks: "A speech full of cliches, most uninteresting, etc. "I was sitting at the same table as Maurice Ingram, and you should have seen his face". G. then said that he was one of my advisers, had thought the speech quite good, and that M. Ingram was an old woman. Whereupon Storrs changed his tone and said that he had most happy relations with R., sharing all her dreams on the Parks Committee of the L.C.C. As I was leaving, he came up to me and complimented me profusely on my speech, saying that in particular he had been most interested in what I had said on food imports into Europe. I said that there was some wobbling in high places on this question, and anything which he or others could do to strengthen public opinion would be welcome. He also paid compliments to R. and I said that she often spoke to me of him. This is true, but she has no sort of opinion of him!

G. says later this afternoon that he has seen Morton, who seems now, King Bomba having lost the game, to be much more disposed to play with us, and wants to see me.

DIARY

3. 10. 40

E.B. and I are guests at lunch of the Poles - Sikorski, Zaleski, Raczynski, Stanczyk, ~~Kok~~, and - rather to my horror - Retinger. All very affable. E.B. tells a large number of anecdotes, some much better than others, which have to be translated into English for Sikorski, who has French but not yet much English. The Poles are all anxious to explain that they desire close relations, including a customs union, with the Czechs. My insistence no doubt has provoked these assurances. E.B. talks, as usual, at large about the colonies and offers the Poles a share in the pooled African resources of to-morrow. They are delighted at this. No doubt such a reward would reconcile them, when the time comes, to rectifications of their old eastern frontier.

E.B. has just joined the War Cabinet as part of the recent reconstruction. He says to me "Of course I am very new at this game and I ~~don't~~ know what to say when the P.M. asked me last night. But I thought it would help the prestige of the Trade Union Movement and the Ministry of Labour if I went in. No-one has ever put the Ministry of Labour in the forefront like this before". (I am not sure whether this last was a reference to himself or the P.M.) And now the P.M. will have to teach him to be terse. At present he is terribly long-winded through long habit. I said I had heard that the Beaver was to become Lord President. E.B. was most contemptuous. "im?" he said, "why then e'd 'ave to do all the ceremonial. The King would never 'ave that".

I like this new Cabinet reconstruction very much. Positively, there is nothing wrong with it - except perhaps the increase in the size of the War Cabinet to eight - and negatively, we have escaped several calamities which were much canvassed. L.G. has not been brought in. (Only two days ago Lady Astor was saying to me - and therefore, no doubt, had been saying to everybody - that it was indispensable to have L.G. or Trenchard, or both, in the War Cabinet in order to "hold Winston". I said that I had an open mind about T., but that I was wholly against L.G. who was senile, had no longer any following in the country, was a Welsh Petain and wrote articles in the Sunday press as though he were a neutral in the war.) We have also avoided having the Beaver without a Department and with a roving commission to intrigue and interfere everywhere. This is particularly important as regards propaganda.

H.M.'s appointment is first-class. He knows all this ground. He will have several lovely messes to clear up and many H.O.officials to , which I am hopeful he will do with vigour and promptitude. I am glad he is leaving Supply, where, although he tried very hard, I feel he was not a great success. Had he stayed

*Wm Cat. Nov 1942*

there much longer, his reputation might have suffered badly. As it is, he comes away in good time.

Logie comes to see me about Italian affairs. Intelligent but rather long-winded. I am also visited by Monsignor Vance, who is full of grievances against "the F.O. mind" and the divided responsibility between Departments for broadcasting and other propaganda. He thinks that all the F.O. officials and diplomats who are now being infused into various Departments should be sent away to write, each his own version, of "Failure of a Mission" or "Failure of Intelligence". He tries to make me believe that there is an immense furore in many high circles, Lords, Commons and Bress, against the state of things which he denounces. I am a little dubious. He says that if I will give him a confidential typist and leave him alone with her, he will dictate a tremendous secret memorandum for me. This offer is accepted.

DIARY4. 10. 40

Morton to lunch. He is by way of being very co-operative now, and certainly he is keen to get things done. Mr Pick, he says, now asks for one week off in two owing to the strain of his work at the M. of I. M. adds one more detail of the famous conversation with the P.M., who lent across the table extending his hand and said "Let me shake your hand Mr Pick. To-day I am going down to Dover to watch the air battles. Perhaps to-night I shall be in Hell, and if so I should like to tell the people there that I have shaken hands with the one sinless man since Jesus Christ. Shake my hand Mr Pick."

This afternoon the Surplus sub-Committee. The Treasury - Crookshank and Waley (though the latter, I am told, is now converted to our plan) the only opposition. They are washed away in waves of argumentation and contempt.

5 & 6 . 10. 40

In the Country. H.G. comes with me and Van is there for the first half day. Conference with heads of sections. Atmosphere good but still too much focus on a mere principle of administration - should the same control cover B.B.C. foreign broadcasts. The case against any further change is underrated by some. Perhaps it will be best - so Crossman thinks - to go by stages, first Germany, then France, and so on. He is going extremely well. So everybody says, including R.L. who tells me he wishes to make an amend honorable. C. says he is against "departmental imperialism", but wants a scheme that will work well.

V.W. seems much abashed. I hear later that he has been told by his new chief that he is now to control nothing, but only to be an administrative head. Mr B. is also beginning to move a little into the shadows, as I wished. He was taking on himself too much and tending to impede others.

I hear that Dietrich, Goebbels' head man, has twice communicated with his agent in Lisbon saying that they can't find out anything about what is happening in England and are greatly dependent on the British newspapers. They must therefore have these quicker and in greater quantity.

This is the other side to the howl against the H.O. and the W.O. for rounding up all aliens in one sweep. Clearly we swept up, with the rest, those who before sent out information, by wireless or otherwise.

-2-

*Brooks*

The Brigadier thinks that we have not been in real danger of an attempt at an invasion since the third week in August; also that perhaps we count a bit too quick enemy planes brought down (this is being said by Trenchard and others, but I have no reason to think that it is true. Anyhow, even if some small deductions were made, the broad results would be the same).

I tour a number of establishments, climb staircases in towers, open "visitors' books", admire ingenious gadgets, and am greeted at one point by a Guard presenting arms. I also call on two households which seem to be settling in well.

-----

G. thinks that there is "something mysterious", which we may never find out, about King B and the next letter in the alphabet; probably it only is that the latter's nerves are not too good. "C"

7. 10. 40

With A.G. and H. Johnstone to the Treasury in the morning to press for some rope for our S. American mission. K.W., as usual, has been advised by his officials to agree to nothing. As usual - I knew this trick of his when he was Air Minister - he produces a typescript story by his officials, tells us what it is, and then reads out ~~much~~ large chunks of it, without much comment of his own. He has underlined in red pencil the relevant bits of the typescript. He then says that, of course, the officials have to advise like this but that he quite sees the other side. He is prepared to make some concessions and will send a letter to H. Johnstone. He complains, as we are leaving, that E.B. has jumped a claim, by press leakage, to the abolition of the household means test. This, he says, will raise political difficulties in his own Party. He seems a little touchy. As A.G. says, he is torn limb from limb daily - but still survives. K.W. also tells us that it was very awkward when he was not a member of the War Cabinet. I can well imagine it!

With A.G. to P.M., just before Cabinet this afternoon, to discuss names for Surplus Commissioner. I put up, and A.G. accepts, Salter, Schuster (who is being run by Lloyd), Leith Ross, and Clem Davies, roughly in that order of merit. But P.M. likes C.D. best. Salter and L.R. he thinks it would be a great mistake to take away from their present duties, and he does not react at all to Schuster. Of C.D. he says "and after all, we owe him a good deal". A.G. writes afterwards asking him to confirm, and I send for inclusion in this letter another from Lloyd urging Schuster's claims.

\* helping to undermine Chamberlain

-3-

Cab. Rather a row, in which the Admiralty, almost alone, with faint support from the F.O., are assailed by the rest. Pound is well pounded. P.M. says to him "Do you never let hope as well as fear play any part in any of your calculations?" P.M. says "I am feeling much better since last week." The tone from U.S.A. is much firmer. Their Navy Department has asked whether, if Japs react violently against opening of Burma Road, U.S. Navy can have facilities at Singapore. Appropriate and warm replies are being sent. A.V.A. says that I have written him rather a tart letter about Admirals not keeping the rules regarding contraband control at Gib, but he is superseding Dudley North (who was partly responsible for the lack of intelligence leading to the Dakar muddle) and therefore has not replied to me yet. I hear that on the lower deck they call him "Don't-Do-It Dudley". I urge that we should re-establish proper blockade along W.African coast and undertake to give figures to the Cab. The Beaver tries to make out this trade is unimportant. He is dead set on a return to isolation and hates all action at a distance from this island. Hfax still faintly hopes to do a deal with Vichy, but I agree with Sadogan, outside the Cab. Room, on the text of a telegram to Vichy via Madrid saying that "Pending the issue of discussion, we must maintain our full rights of blockade, including that of stoppage of all trade to and from W.African ports."

Early this morning a spot of Spanish drama. Makins was roused from bed at 1.15 and summoned to the F.O. On the way, the windscreen of his car was shattered by a bomb. Arrived, he heard that a telegram had gone from Franco to Roosevelt saying that the latter now had it in his power to take decisive action, which would affect whole course of war. Spain would stay neutral if only U.S.A. would send her wheat. It was agreed - Drogheda having given assent on my behalf - that we should agree to this on condition that American agents in Spain distributed the wheat, that none was re-exported, that publicity should be given to the whole affair, and that wheat ships should go over singly and be stopped by us if anything went wrong.

Baudouin has proclaimed "loyalty to the conqueror". "It is difficult", said the P.M., "to understand how such a phrase could pass the lips of any human being."

8. 10. 40

H. of C. re-assembles, the date not having been announced publicly, but I suspect that Hitler knows. He tries, indeed, some daylight raids on London soon after we meet. P.M. speaks on the war, including re-opening of Burma Road and the Dakar affair. On this he practically says that Admirals and others were to blame, and that responsibilities are being examined and disciplinary action will be taken.

-4-

R. Hudson, who, G. says, is not much of a scout, seems not to know much of my doings. He thinks that he and I are two of the more leisured Ministers who should concert plans for a new economic order after the war, including the stabilisation of agricultural prosperity and controls in this country. He is a little afraid of surpluses. He thinks Llewellyn has been badly treated in being passed over in recent Ministerial shuffle.

9. 10. 40

Party Meeting. Very resentful at criticisms of the P.M. by that fool Sloane. "Since when did you want a strong Navy? You want to make peace!" I told G. later that there was much stronger and firmer support for the P.M. among our people than among the Tories. The rumour that R.A.B. might be made Deputy Leader of the Tory Party surprises me, but I know from experience how little any politician knows of the goings on regarding leadership in any other Party.

Visited by Willington, Brand and others, about to leave for S. America on the goodwill mission. I tell them what they have to do is to persuade the S. Americans that the blockade is a grand thing. As an aid to this persuasion, they should be able to recommend purchases by us of part of the S. American surpluses, in exchange for increased British exports. Old W. sees the point at once, but Brand, who makes a poor impression upon me, keeps boring on about debts and the British Bondholders' Association. I urge him to leave these matters as far as possible aside. He is finicky, too finance-minded and physically feeble. In this last respect he compares ill with W., who must be twenty years his senior.

Meet at lunch with G. Walt Butterworth, the live wire of the American Embassy. He is quick, right-minded (I think) and amusing.

Proceed to Polish Hearth, where all known Poles, Czechs and Slovaks in London are assembled. The function is a joint welcome to the Presidents of P. and C.S. After addresses, Polish music. Very pleasant and, I hope, symbolic of new relationships, for which I have talked and written as much as anyone. All are very cordial towards me, who chance to be the only Minister-above-the-line present, though H. Nicolson and Kennard are also there. I ask Sikorski for Colonel Mitkewicz, whom he introduces to me. He is the other wing to Kot.

wends

Hoare ~~xxxxxx~~ a most secret telegram - copies with King and P.M. - that Spanish M.F.A. "swore on the crucifix in his room" that France had just taken definite decision not to bring Spain into war on side of Axis. (This squares with F.'s approach to Roosevelt on



wheat). It was further reported that Suner had been much disilluisioned by his visits to Berlin.

Meanwhile the Germans are in Rumania and we have not destroyed the oil wells, though we managed this last time. Now they will be able to fuel their planes on the spot. All this is a bore.

10. 10. 40

*Nelson*

F.N. to dine. He is getting on slowly.

DIARY10. 10. 40

*Walter*  
*Vain* F.N. to dine. He is getting on slowly. *Thinking is the man*  
*Wright* *in 8/10/40* At V. one of our two chaps got drunk and threw his things and his  
 companion's over the side of the boat when he heard, what after  
 all was a most natural thing, that an official was coming on board  
 to look at people's passports. We are ill served in this part of  
 the world. I recall that once before two blokes got drunk in G. -  
 and in a brothel too - and with papers in their pockets! *Constance*

On what a sunset does old S.B. look out? He, more than  
 any other living man, is to blame for our present state. Charming  
 to all but his close associates, contemplative, lazy, ~~vain~~ and,  
 to those of ~~his~~ his own Party who crossed him, most vindictive and  
 unforgiving. "Rhetoric is the harlot of the arts", he quoted  
 once. He used her too. And he was shy, they say, of his own  
 followers. He used to sit in the Smoke Room of the H. of C.  
 reading an evening paper, surrounded by a circle of Tories old and  
 young, eagerly waiting their chance to be noticed and spoken to,  
 and then suddenly he would dash the paper down, jump up and run out  
 of the room without a word or any sign of recognition.

X  
 Erika Mann, daughter of Thomas M., comes to see me.  
 She is ~~living in the U.S.~~ leaving for the U.S. I suggest that she  
 might say, speaking as a German, that Hoover was responsible for  
 prolonging the last war, and hence for the deaths on European battle-  
 fields of many young Americans. She says "Yes, I remember how,  
 when the American bacon arrived, we were all encouraged to go on".

11. 10. 40

Mitkiewicz comes to lunch with me and G. He is a northern Pole, born near Smolenzk. I should think fairly capable. We must hold together the two wings, civil and military, of the Polish effort.

Grant McK. tells me a long story of the ineffectiveness of most Labour Ministers. He excludes me and E.B. and, I think, much exaggerates his grumbles about the others. But it seems that the famous Production Council has only met about once in the last five months, and the Economic Policy Committee of the Cabinet not much oftener. However, A.G. is always busy with some little thing or other. Much of the trouble is, of course, that he has got a damned fool in Hemming as his principal civil servant. The circus of economists are said to be seething with discontent, and A.G. has never met them as a body.

See C.R.A. and warn him that Swinton is intriguing to get control of S.I.S. He agrees that this would never do, but is dissatisfied with the F.O. as control. We leave that there. I speak to him of Belgium and he agrees that the present state of things cannot go on. I tell him that I am very glad that the War Cabinet has decided that there can be no discussion of electoral reform until after the war.

I learn that M.I.R. were supposed to look after Rumanian oil and others were warned off, and now we see the nil result!

12 & 13. 10. 40.

At West Leaze. Autumn tints. Walk on Sunday by myself at a good pace from 11.30 to 6 p.m., stopping not more than half an hour for lunch. Across the Og valley to Barbury Camp, then downwards towards Marlborough and back through Ogbourne St Andrew, across the main road and up on to a patch of wooded down where, for a while, I lose my way but get straight again near Constantine's, where the rain has washed off all the silly needless camouflage he had put on the walls. This spot of fairly violent exercise restored for days all my morale.

14. 10. 40

To see Keller, who is said to like staying in the Dorchester and not now to be in any hurry to return to Berne. Expound to him various concessions. In return I hope we shall get for the F.O. a satisfactory bag service. He will be in England some days longer, so this matter can be further pursued.

Wauters comes to lunch and expresses great satisfaction at my interest and activity in the Belgian tangle. He gives me a note, containing a most moderate proposal to constitute a conseil de gouvernement consisting of all Belgian ex-Ministers. This would amount to about a dozen, including some in U.S.A. and Lisbon. The advantage of this method of selection is that it would be automatic.

In the afternoon meeting of Ministers at A.M., where Sinclair is very frank. Germans are still very inferior to us in night flying, but are working hard at it. There is no sign yet of any deterioration in the morale of their pilots, and all those caught so far were flying at the beginning of the war.

On the other hand, we are making hopeful progress with a number of ingenious devices for night defence. Details, of course, are very secret, but the general principle is, rather obviously, to create artificially at night conditions as favourable for the operation of our fighter aircraft as those which naturally prevail by day. Progress on these lines would make a great difference, but it would be a terrible bore if the Germans made simultaneous and similar inventions.

Germans generally fly at least 15,000 feet over London at night, and by day their tactics now are to come over very high, more than 20,000 feet, with fast fighter patrols, each carrying a few bombs, but with very few bombers. At this altitude some types of British fighters, though superior to the Germans at lower altitudes, are not at their best. Moreover, the quick climb required is a bit of a nuisance. Hence the fact that losses are much more nearly equal in these last days, though they are relatively small on both sides. We have a number of new types, and improvements of present types, coming along satisfactorily.

There was some drop in our production last month, more from interruption of work during warnings than from physical damage by bombs. None the less, our monthly increment was between 1,300 and 1,400, including about 100 imported from U.S.A. This last figure will rise very steeply in the next few months. Last month German production was probably very slightly above this figure, but, over the last four months, we have reason to think that our production, including imports, has been a bit ahead of theirs.

We have also reason to think that if they aim at a continuous and undiminished scale of attack on this country, they cannot send over many more bombers than they are doing now. They could, of course, greatly intensify the attack for a short period, e.g., several days or even a week, but only at a cost of having to reduce it very substantially afterwards and let it fall well below their recent level. Broadly, and this is also our experience, not much more than one-quarter of the available bomber force can be used each day.

The disparity has diminished over the period May to October.

At this Ministers' meeting Simon, still no doubt revolving inter-Liberal jealousies, seemed to wish to throw doubt on Sinclair's statements and future estimates. Was there anything, he asked, to prevent "this kind of thing being kept up indefinitely by both sides?" Sinclair said that one of the things which might prevent it would be the activities of M.E.W.

Osusky comes to see me and calls me "Mr Minister" between every few words. He is careful not to say anything against Benes and, when I embark on my favourite theme of Czechoslovak-Polish union, he pretends most heartily to agree, not least with my proposition that Slovaks should be a bridge between Czechs and Poles.

C. Mayhew turns up, but I don't see him. P.H. sends him to be interviewed by G., who tells me afterwards that he would like to have him here and to work out a scheme for using him.

Much air activity to-night. Returning about 9 p.m. and on my way to my office on the second floor, a bomb bursts very near the building, in fact in a mews just at the back, blows in all the windows on that side, and puts out all the lights. Miss O. is slightly hysterical and I have to comfort her, but, for my part, I find this bomb burst just near enough to be stimulating, and not too close to be a bother. I therefore don my tin hat, still quite a toy, and call on G., who also has a head protection, to come up with me to my Roof of the World. From there we see a most dramatic sight, with fires burning all round the circle. Most of these are soon suppressed by J.W.'s admirable firemen, but one, somewhere in Piccadilly, burns very fiercely. Quite like a Gotterdammerung, which must make even German pilots, brought up on all that Wagner stuff, faintly fearful of their future fate. My roof is one of the best lookouts in London. It is also very good for one to have a walk up to the tenth floor, lifts being out of action during the air-raids.

Hancock  
Nadson

15. 10. 40

Lunch with Lees-Smith at H. of C. and find that he knows a good deal, but, as might be expected, is shrewd, loyal, and slightly ingenuous. I promise him a visit to the Country - he has already been there once - later on.

With Van to see Hfax about the Belgians. Hfax, himself proposes just the scheme which Wauters had propounded to me. He says that, if Gutt and de V. won't accept it, he is prepared to advise the P.M. to summon them and tell them that they must.

Joe Kennedy comes to say good-bye. He is most effusive and complimentary. I don't think he will come back. I shall not be sorry. I always regard him as a defeatist and a crook.

16. 10. 40

See John Price, who is being stolidly useful. I wish him to keep in touch particularly with Wauters and Torp, the Norwegian.

Four-Power Conference this afternoon at F.O. J.W. is also admitted. He is much liked by all, which is convenient. Rather a boring discussion about the grievances of Cadette and his irregular way of dealing with papers. I am getting very tired of this fellow.

The rumour grows, through various telegrams and other agencies, that the Germans may attack the Russians in the spring. Certainly the Russians' attitude can best be explained on the assumption that they are very frightened of the Germans but not of anybody else. Kot told G. the other day that he was in Lwow when the Russians came in last October, and that, behind their "facade" troops, there were only ragged, ill-trained, ill-armed creatures, mostly suffering from stomach trouble. One must allow a little for high Polish colour, but it is not hard to believe that most of the Red Army is a rabble.

The Germans captured in France a number of documents regarding our air strength. These were not, for various reasons, unduly optimistic! This has led to German surprise in these last weeks that they have made so little impression on our strength, which they had naturally under-estimated.

X Cazalet has got a more or less bogus job as liaison with Sikorski. He is quite innocent about my work. He thinks it a great thing that I have got G., of whom he thinks highly, to ease my blockade difficulties with the F.O. (This is the other side of the tale that he has been put here by the F.O. to keep a check on this troublesome Minister of E.W.) G. says that others say that G. is "one of the few people who are not frightened of me". G. tells me afterwards that he deliberately put this tale around!

A 318!

DIARY17. 10. 40

Clem Davies very haughty to A.G. and me when offered job of looking after Surpluses. He is, he says, "a member of the War Cabinet of the greatest concern in this country (Unilevers). "There, what I say goes". He also alleges that before joining them he gave up the biggest practice at the Commercial Bar and that he is now receiving a salary of £15,000 a year. He seems to have no shame about this and is evidently suffering from an extreme form of megalomania. If he were offered a job as Minister for Surpluses, with a seat in the Cabinet, he might look at it! I am rather sorry I suggested him rather than sticking to some of the other candidates.

Bruce Lockhart spends the evening with me and is very intelligent and well informed about the Czechs. He reports good progress towards Polish-Czechoslovak amity and unity and I claim a little credit for this myself. I tell him that Jaeksch has not got the Labour Party behind him, as he seems to have alleged.

B.L. says he is passing on to the Beaver my suggestion that work in aircraft factories would best be maintained if people whom the men trusted, whether industrial or political leaders, were to go and speak to them and run risks with them from time to time. I say that if I were given a list of where these factories were, I could probably suggest the names of suitable people.

18. 10. 40

Cab. Rather confused and disorderly discussion. The increase in the permanent membership of the War Cabinet leads to the room being fuller and to more people speaking, though not to more knowledge. I urge that we should resume a real blockade of French West Africa and no longer leave alone French merchant ships which are "escorted", even by such symbolic escorts as sloops, armed trawlers, survey ships, etc. This has become a complete scandal, such third-rate escorts operating a shuttle service in the Straits, passing through one convoy and then returning for the next. There is much support for my view, but the Admiralty say they have no ships. To this plaint, often heard nowadays, I feel inclined to reply, "If no ships, then why any Admirals?" However, in the end it is decided, as I wished, that the mistaken decision, made without proper consideration more than two months ago, that no escorted French merchant ships should be interfered with, shall be rescinded. Someone says "Let us have now a few symbolic seizures!"

Lunch with the Swiss who have been bombed out of their Legation and are now living at the Dorchester. Professor K. shows

Kella



now no alacrity to return to Switzerland. It is said that he enjoys the night life in the Dorchester passages, which have been turned into dormitories. They are quite pleased with the amount of concessions which I have given them, and I have a few more up my sleeve, which, for a good quid pro quo, e.g. as to the Bag, I would be willing to throw in.

Christopher Mayhew comes to see me and spends the night in the Ministry. He has now a commission in the Intelligence Corps, which is a new contraption since my time in the Army. He is now between two courses, both of which should be useful to ~~me~~ him. I tell him a little about the work here and say that I will ask for him to be seconded when he has completed his second course. I think he will be very useful.

19. 10. 40

Lunch with F.N. at his flat, and then to the Country with G. and H. Research reveals irregularities, but we had best postpone official consideration of these until we have a more complete picture, and until India has been enforced.

We are taken in charge by a naval officer who shows us a number of interesting experiments, and later spend the night in the Country and have an after-dinner Symposium on the shape of things to come. H. makes a good note and, although not much emerges clearly from the discussion, it is, I think, worth while.

20. 10. 40

Back from the Country in the afternoon. I shall take down the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party for a talk a few weeks later on.

21. 10. 40

Intl. Sub-Com. of the Labour Party Executive agrees to set up consultative committee of Socialist exiles, one for each country, but not to include Jaksch, who is doing very badly, having a swollen, anti-Czech, head.

Hambro comes to tell me about his experiences on his recent travels and makes, as usual, a very good impression. Go home for an evening meal - quite an amazing and unusual experience, but find the night so dark that I have the greatest difficulty in making my way back to the Ministry. Just now Hitler is being slightly less active in the air.

22. 10. 40

Meeting with G., F.N. and his two other men, which goes very well. These are a very good bunch.

Lord Latham of London dines with J.W. and myself. He is a very small man and, John says, much impressed by being let in to this Ministry and finding that the Minister can give him several hours of his time. He himself has developed a habit of allowing only five minutes to persons of importance who desire to see him.

23. 10. 40

Emergency E.C. of the Labour Party. Little Laski should have been on the carpet for his incitement to Res. in a recent article in the "Herald" demanding statement of war aims. He is assisting C.R.A. and should know all the facts about what is going on.

Lunch with Van who, I am glad to say, is going to take ten days' leave, which is long overdue to him. He too has visited the Country and finds some parts rather bleak. No beer and very few books.

Talk on Belgium with Labour members of the War Cabinet and agree that proposal of Wauters, etc., for a conseil de gouvernement is most moderate and should be supported. The arrival of Pierlot and Spaak will, perhaps, complicate and delay things. Hfax asked Van this afternoon whether he knew ~~what H.D.'s opinion was of Spaak as a Socialist~~ what H.D.'s opinion was of Spaak as a Socialist. Van replied that he thought pretty low.

Go with J.W. in the evening to the London Fire Brigade Headquarters and spend some time in the Control Room. It is all very impressive, but to-night there happen to be no fires. This is rather disappointing.

DIARY

24. 10. 40

Van told me yesterday that Stonehaven had come to see him and expressed surprise and regret at a change made by me. Van, replying to this, said that I had appointed one who had, years back, belonged to S.'s flock.

At lunch with Mrs P. and others, Will Henderson is almost embarrassingly forthcoming. He seems to want me to be in on everybody else's work, on the ground that I alone have real drive and understanding. Both from the national and from the Party point of view, he says, he wants this. He tends to repeat himself and it is all a bit overdone. None the less, I had better see him and let him talk himself out. He says he suggested to A.G., when the last Ministerial shuffle was going on, that I should be "promoted" to be President of the Board of Trade. I thanked him very much, but said that I would have refused such an offer. I should not regard it as promotion. The B. of T. was not an ambition of mine. I had a much better staff and was, I hoped, doing much more to win the war at M.E.W. Had it been a question of going to one of the fighting departments, or, needless to add, to the F.O. or the Treasury, I would not have said no. Apart from this, I had no wish to shift anyone.

Lothian comes to see me in the afternoon. He is over here for three weeks, goes to Scotland at the end of this week and will then be back in London, when he will have a talk on detail with a number of my officials. I have the impression that he is getting on very well at Washington. He is, I suspect, the sort of man Americans like; very quick to take local colour, as Leith-Ross says, and very fond of "large ideas", particularly in a vague and unfinished form. The largest one thrown out in our talk to-day is that of a standing council in Washington representing all the states of pan-America and the British Commonwealth. This, he says, the President threw out the other day.

He thinks Roosevelt will <sup>win</sup> ~~win~~ again, but Willkie has the support of 80% of the Press and is publicised every day in every way. R., on the other hand, has been till now keeping out of the lime-light and making few speeches. In the long run it won't make any difference to us which wins, but in the short run it would be much better if R. came back, for then the U.S. administration could go straight ahead, whereas if W. won, he would not take over officially until January, and there would be six months of marking time, from November till April, the last three while Willkie's new men were learning their jobs.

But all American opinion, L. says, is now solidly convinced that the function of Britain, vital for the U.S.A., is to bottle up the Dictators' exits into the Atlantic.

In the Pacific the U.S. would think it vital to hold against Japan a line covering Singapore, the N.E.I., the Phillipines and Hawaii. After the election, they will, he thinks, send war-ships both to Singapore and to Australia. He has urged them to send the Australians 10,000 aeroplanes, which Australian pilots would fly. An Australian has arrived in Washington to discuss, very ~~secretly~~ privately, this and other possibilities.

As to finance, L. is seeing the Treasury and arranging that Phillips, whom Morgenthau likes very much - though, says L., "I can't imagine why anyone should like Phillips"- should go over again very soon. We shall, it seems, soon be completely dependent on the Americans for our external finance, and the President will have to go to Congress and persuade them that "our cupboard is bare", at least of dollars or assets easily turned into dollars. "You must let me know when the red light goes up", the President has said to him. It might be that the U.S. Government, or Congress, when approached to make fresh loans or gifts to us, would ask why we should not sell to them our holdings in South American Railways, or even in tin and rubber enterprises in Malaya. Clearly, they would be in a position to drive as hard a bargain as they liked. L. had told the President, when skirting around these details, that if, during the war, we lost the great bulk of our foreign investments, then afterwards there would be a sharp fall in the standard of living of our people here, since we should then be compelled to trade "upon a barter basis", and this would make for revolution here and in Europe. He said he thought the President had been impressed by this. (If so, he is more impressionable than I am.)

On the blockade, I told L. that I was an extremist and was determined to go on saying no, as long as I could, to all proposals to break down the blockade. He argued, not without persuasiveness, that we should soon, on our own initiative, put up a series of conditions and safeguards, subject to which we would let food into all occupied Europe. These conditions should include -

- (1) Administration of all supplies coming in by an international commission, largely American.
- (2) Germans not to take any more food from occupied territories and to replace equivalent of food already taken.
- (3) Frontier posts between pre-war Germany and occupied territories to be replaced and manned by Americans and others to prevent violation of above conditions.
- (4) Subject to (1), (2) and (3), we should offer to do cat and mouse and let through ships one at a time so long as Germans did not break their word.

He was quite sure that Germans would reject these conditions and that, therefore, we should be able, fairly and squarely, to put blame on them for privation in Europe. He promised to let me have a note of this, and I promised to study it, but told him that my mind was firmly set at present on holding my first line of defence, the straight negative, until I was pushed out of it. So far, no hard push had come. His scheme was not unlike others which had already been put to me, though the point about frontier posts was new. This sort of thing I had always conceived as a second line of defence, but less strong, I thought, than my first line, since one would become involved in negotiations on detail. The Germans, for instance, might accept some and reject others of one's conditions, and of those they rejected, the representatives of the occupied countries might clamour for attenuations.

G. reported later in the evening on various developments. The Prof. is being rather tiresome. R.F. seems to have many contacts. The D.M.I. does not quickly give us the men we want for various jobs. It is reported from another source that the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Boothby case is packed against him. "It is", said one, "a hangman's committee". The principal witness against him is to be Simon, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer when Czechs assets were in debate. Old Chamberlain is dying, but some of his henchmen will enjoy getting their own back, if they can, on one who never loved him.

DIARY25. 10. 40

I give a lunch to the Swiss, which seems to please them. I tell the Minister that I have already gone very far in trade concessions and that I do not feel I can possibly go further, unless his Govt. can meet the F.O. desire to re-establish a bag service by plane. If they were willing to do this, I would be prepared to let the Swiss have more oil by sea from Roumania for their army, and also release their five Greek wheat ships. I repeat this to Keller, who asks whether I definitely connect these two matters. I say yes.

26. 10. 40

Lunch with G. and C.D. G., F., B.! What a tangle!

We are then joined by H.G. and visit some trainees in the Country. The people in charge are not very impressive.

27. 10. 40

Sunday. R. and I have lunch together - quite an amazing thing! - at the Lansdowne Club. Usually I only see her at breakfast. In the afternoon I walk round Westminster and look at the result of the land-mine which fell in Lupus Street some time ago. Though it did great devastation to bricks and mortar, it killed no-one in these houses and only two policemen in all. The inhabitants were all in shelters.

28. 10. 40

Lunch with Stamp, who thinks it a good thing that Ministers should be educated by sitting and listening to a few of their number disputing about matters outside the departmental bounds of most. He wants to engage my support for family allowances, holding that future wage increases should take this form. I tell him that I have long been in favour of F.A. and that in the Labour Party opinion, ~~which~~ much of which was previously hostile, is now changing. Keynes is now in the Treasury. This accounts for his much more friendly and optimistic article on the financial outlook which recently appeared in The Times. It is a trick which almost always works to put the critic inside the official cage.

Logie comes to see me with bright ideas about Italy, etc. Talkative but intelligent and keen,

Surpluses. C.Davies will only take the job if made a Minister, Salter only if he remains a Minister - and this would put too much on him, since he has also North American Purchasing Commission. I have ascertained that C.Davies has no following, not even in the Liberal Party, and if we turn him down we lose nothing politically. I say this to A.G. and suggest that we should now propose to P.M. either Schuster or Leith-Ross. Lloyd has been most persistent in pressing Schuster's claims on me, and I have suggested to him that he should speak to the P.M. direct.

A.G. and I then go to see the P.M. in his boudoir in the Cabinet War Room just before the 5 p.m. Cab. He comes in looking rather tired and apologises for keeping us waiting, saying "I have just had my sleep". He has not much focused the point at issue but says at once that we cannot make a new Ministerial job for Surpluses (C.D. should, however, be spoken to nicely and told that perhaps something else may come along for him later on), and "It looks as though Leith-Ross is the man". Both A.G. and I mention that Lloyd has backed Schuster, but P.M. looks very stony and says "I know nothing about Schuster". This means clearly that he knows something he does not like. It also shows that either Lloyd has not pressed S. on the P.M. or that he has no great influence with him. I say that L.R. can take on this job quite well in addition to what he is now doing for me, as I have a good deal decentralised the work of M.E.W. The P.M. says "Tell him that he can have some extra staff and an additional Private Secretary".

Dine at L.Club with R.A.B., Geoffrey Lloyd and Sir A. Agnew, who has just come back from U.S.A. He emphasises strong American suspicion that we are letting too much oil into Europe, and also into Japan. Morgenthau, he says, thinks all day and all night how to defeat the Nazis, and is much preoccupied with oil supplies.

29. 10. 40

I tell L.R. that the P.M. wants him to take charge of Surpluses. He says "Oh damn" but is really rather pleased.

Lunch with Maisky and find from a, perhaps, rather unguarded reference to a recent communication we have made to Cripps that he knows nothing of it. I am quite used to his not knowing what his Government is going to do next, but hitherto they have kept him informed of communications from us to them.

G. reports that he has had a very good talk with Kennedy, the new D.M.O. It seems as though we may now at last get some honest co-operation from the W.O., and that, in particular, we can get rid of Brig.W. who, instead of being a liaison officer, has become a sheer trouble-maker. It is said that he runs round and round in the W.O. trying to make mischief with everyone, but that

nearly everyone is too busy to listen to him. It appears, however, that he has done some damage.

With G. see Cadett and try to put him into a better mood. I think I have some success, and I pass him on to J.W. who continues the good work with the aid of a bottle of sherry. (All this ridiculous business of personal relations will seem in retrospect quite fantastic. We were supposed to be fighting the Germans, but a large number of the participants were really fighting each other, intriguing, back-biting, and feeling injured and jealous. Give me men who will work together, and against the real enemy, and I shall be able to show some results!)

Meeting of Ministers at F.O. to hear talk by Hfax., to whom afterwards I speak of my experience at lunch with Maisky. Hfax. says that M. has frequently leaked here, especially to the Evening Standard, and that for this reason it is difficult to speak very frankly to him. Sometimes he has thought of telling him straight out that this is the reason why more cannot be said to him.

*See Taylor*

A.D. spends the evening with me. He is an attractive and intelligent Australian and makes a very good impression. He admits that a number of Section Heads need to be superseded.

30. 10. 40

Send for Maisky at noon. G. has telephoned to F.O. for suggestions as to the line I should take. H.G. was much perturbed over yesterday's lunch and spoke to G. about it before I arrived in the office this morning. G. says that Hfax. thinks I should take a very strong line with M., threatening him ~~the~~ with every kind of penalty if he makes any disclosure. G., on the other hand, is inclined to think that this may be rather excessive, and that I should pass off my remarks yesterday as not having meant as much as M. thought at the time.

When M. appears I do, indeed, threaten him with every kind of disaster, including the grave displeasure of his masters in Moscow, if he should let anything out to the press, either here or in U.S.A. It might have most unfortunate results on development of Anglo-Soviet relations. I also say that after all, in friendly relationships between our two countries, consultation on all matters of common concern and an undertaking not to join in hostile combinations are to be taken for granted. M. asks whether Cripps has yet spoken at Moscow on lines suggested. I say that I don't know. He says perhaps F.O. have only sent him instructions piecemeal. I say, as innocently as I can, "perhaps". He says that often in the past the F.O. has given information to particular newspapers giving a very



misleading and optimistic account of A.S. relationships. He hopes they will not do this again. I say that I am sure they will not. I tell him that if anything leaks out now it will make it impossible for me to speak frankly to him in the future. He will, in short, compromise my own position. I think this may have some influence on him, since he regards me and A.V.A. as his best friends in the Government. I hope that I have now stopped this earth, which should not have been rashly opened!

Visit Herbert Morrison at H.O. to discuss means of extricating enemy aliens at short notice. He is very friendly and agrees to my proposals, which are communicated to Sir Alexander Maxwell, dried up old stick, who is summoned to join us (a typical Home Office official, very cautious, but not a bad chap", H.M.says).

P.A. spends the evening with me. Him too I like very much. He has intelligence and determination and has a capacity, which appeals to me, for righteous indignation against obstructionists. With him too I discuss, with wonder, the W.O. He gives me detail on the mischief-making fidgets of Brig.W., who is complaining against G. and C.D. and being very obstructive to P.A. personally. Brig.W. has also temporarily poisoned the mind of the D.M.I., who has never liked our set-up, having wanted to deal with it himself. G. shows me a letter from D.M. at No.10 regarding some lodgings where I myself once had a meal.

*Ante*

DIARY31. 10. 40.

See P.M. with A.G. on Surpluses. I tell the latter beforehand that it will now be quite intolerable if the decision that Leith-Ross should do the job is to be upset. I have seen L.R. after our last meeting with the P.M. and told him to go ahead and make arrangements about staff, etc. A.G., as usual, is all flabby and pretends now to agree with me. But earlier in the day he had sent me a copy of a letter, written without consultation with me, to the P.M. saying that he had held up the draft for the letter to sign to L.R. because C.D. had rung him up and said that he was now willing to do the job without salary, even though it was not a Ministerial post. I bully A.G. a bit on the telephone and say that this letter should have been shown to me, that it was so worded as to invite the P.M. to reverse his decision (A.G. denied that this was his intention), and that C.D. was no damned use anyhow, and that I regretted having ever put his name forward.

The P.M. takes my point of view and now I hope the damned thing is finally settled.

The P.M., I thought, was looking much better and less weary that two days ago. He is very pleased at reports that German aircraft are turning back and disliking the accuracy of our barrage even when it has to shoot at them through the clouds. We are getting our cat's eyes, it seems.

I said that I was very glad that we were turning the main weight of our bomber attack on to Italy for the next week, and told him that we had produced a very good leaflet, as I thought, to drop with the bombs - "the curse of Garibaldi". I said I hoped we should get as far as Rome but succeed in missing the Pope. P.M. said "I should like to tell the old man to get down into his shelter and stay there for a week".

I have covered, I hope, my indiscretion with Maisky and have sent a narrative letter to Hfax., which G. thinks is very good. Probably the only danger now is that M. may make some communication to Molotov which may upset Cripps's negotiations with V. G. thinks that "there might be a Palace Revolution at any time in the Kremlin. It is just a nest of bandits".

A funny story, to be related only to the select. H.M., when Minister of Supply, sent for, and gave a tremendous wiggling to, a North of England firm, Green, Wood and Batley. They had not been doing their share in the arms drive. Having been duly ticked off, their representatives left the room and Macmillan said to H.M. "I think you were rather hard on them. After all, they did very good work in

peace time, even though they may not have quite come up to scratch, so far, in time of war". H.M. said "I don't care a damn what they did in time of peace; they're N.B.G. in time of war". Macmillan said "What did you say the name of the firm was? Was it Greenwood and Attlee?"

Durbin dines and spends the evening with me. He is greatly discouraged by the statistics of production, both of aircraft and of various other arms. The effect of air attacks and lost time through warnings has been to push our output sharply down. (This, however, up to a point, was only to be expected, and we must remember that the same thing, probably on a greater scale, will have been happening in Germany, whereas beyond the Atlantic these factors do not operate.) He complains also of lack of drive of C.R.A. and A.G. and says that E.B. isn't really doing training on any large scale, though he is doing a lot of ballyhoo. E.D. is delighted at being at the centre of things, and says that never before had economists had such a chance of seeing all the essentials laid bare.

He saw Boothby last weekend and heard his story. B. fully expects to be condemned by the Committee, to have to resign from the Government, and possibly to resign his seat as well. He then intends to go forth denouncing Anderson and Sir H. Wilson. I said that I doubted whether, after these preliminaries, his denunciation would do anybody any harm. E.D. says that B.'s account is as follows. He took a certain Czech, with whom he had had business dealings, to live with him, and this Czech became indebted to him for a substantial sum. This debt could have been repaid if, but only if, certain Czech balances in this country were unblocked. Therefore, in a rather round-about way, B. certainly had a financial interest in the matter. None the less, when he led a deputation of M.P.s to Simon, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, he went out of his way to say that he had no interest at all in the matter. Suspicion appears first to have been aroused when his Czech friend was swept up and interned, and when B. pressed a demand for his release, somewhat vehemently, with Anderson. This sweep-up occurred soon after the new Government was formed, and B. rang A. up on the telephone, abused him and his officials roundly, and said that if this Czech was not released within ten days he would resign his post in the Government, cross the floor of the House, and publicly denounce A. and his administration. The ten days passed, the Czech was not released, B. did not resign, and, so he says, Sir H. Wilson prepared a memorandum against him which was passed on to the P.M. by A. B. is a queer chap. Someone said of him the other day that the trouble is that his public life is too private and his private life too public!

G. reports that he and C.D. had another most satisfactory talk with Kennedy at the W.O. Brig.W. was summoned while they were there, and in their presence was told that he would no longer continue to be our liaison officer. He will be replaced by a man much more

Dalton I 23 (83)

-3-

fully occupied, as a liaison officer should be. It looks as though we really had made good W.O. contact at last, but I have been disappointed before. D.M.I. has not been playing up and has not even been passing on our requests that particular soldiers should be released to us for liaison and other duties.

DIARY1. 11. 40

Lunch with Amery and am shown by Mrs A. a photograph of their handsome-looking son Julian, who has been getting into some trouble for indiscretion in the Balkans and the Middle East and is on his way home to be an airman. I have said that I should like to see him on his return, and I gather that I should win the heart of Mrs A. for ever if I could make some arrangement to use him.

Conference of four Labour Ministers with Belgian Socialists (H.W. and Mademoiselle B.) to discuss their latest impasse with the so-called Belgian Government in London. All four of us feel that the Government must be reconstituted, and E.B. adds the practical point that, with the Belgians alone among refugee Governments, there is no Minister of Labour with whom he can deal on practical matters such as employment exchanges, etc. It is agreed that we will seek an opportunity to bring further pressure to bear.

Logie comes to say farewell to me and I impress on him the importance of his mission, which he must not hurry.

2. 11. 40

Meeting at F.O. with Hfax., Cadogan, Strang and Monckton. The question of the King's message to Petain, which was to have been dropped as a leaflet, is raised. I speak very bluntly on D.C.'s intervention with Hfax., though this appears to have taken the form not of raising the matter in the War Cabinet (as Strang had told Leeper over the telephone), but in a whisper while the Cabinet was sitting. I say that I can see that there are arguments both for and against dropping the leaflet, but that D.C.'s action, without consultation with me, was "sheer peaching", that I take the strongest objection to it and ask Monckton to tell him that, if there is any repetition, I shall complain to the P.M. Hfax. tries to take the blame, but I say that I am not having this and it was D.C. who did the wrong thing. (I hear afterwards that M. agrees that I have an unanswerable case.) As we are leaving, M. says to me, rather sadly, "I think the liaison is quite good lower down, isn't it? J. and I get on very well." When the rest have gone, Hfax. says that it was really Strang who had slipped up, had misinformed Leeper on the telephone, and had failed to make contact either with me or with Van.

LeesSmith to lunch and then to the Country, where he is much interested in seeing and hearing about our arrangements, and in an after dinner discussion about Political Warfare. Here, however, there is a little too much general doctrine and too little concrete application.

(2)

3. 11. 40*reaper**Les Smith*

Take R.L. for a quick walk in the Park and make him sweat like a pig. I think this will do him good. Then with L.S. by car to the Bull at Gerrards Cross, where lunch with G. and F.N. L.S. tells a story of his son, a newly commissioned second lieutenant, who has written him a most solemn letter saying that he has been talking to a number of senior officers in the mess who have said that a man called ....., the D.M.I., is "the biggest humbug in the Army, the sort of man who might take in a politician".

We send L.S. back to London and go on to visit an establishment in what once was Mosley's house at Denham. I feel a certain malicious pleasure in this incident, not diminished by the man in charge saying that everything is being taken great care of and he himself goes up once a week to see the present Lady M. and assure her that everything is all right. In fact, the house has a dank feeling. It is near a stream in uninteresting country. There is very little garden and the yew hedges are full of gaps.

L.S. is in good form at lunch and amuses my companions. He says that the P.M. said of A.V.A. "He looks at an Admiral as a nun looks at a cardinal." A.V.A. and H.M. both read too much, sitting up into the small hours of the morning poring over papers. I said that I, since my observation of Uncle Arthur's methods in 1929, always refused to read "state papers". I always required them to be explained verbally. (Creech Jones told me a few days later that Bevin had too many interviews and read too little. "His ears, and not his eyes, lead to his mind". I told C.J. that I thought his Chief was wiser than C.J. thought.)

It is related that Mrs Baldwin, preparing one of her daughters for the experiences of the married life, said "Of course, my dear, it's awful, but you should just lie back and shut your eyes and think of England".

In the early weeks of his Premiership, W. used to order Bridges, Ismay and others at short notice to go down to Chequers for the weekend. It seemed he wanted to have someone to talk at from midnight to 3 a.m. This is one of his vents. Then Ismay made the proposal that W. should visit and inspect the defences. This has been a grand invention from every point of view. It gives W. a first-hand knowledge of important detail; it takes his mind off other things; it keeps him in the open air; the Army acts as a first-class host to him, and his presence greatly encourages the defenders.

On return, dine with G. and F.N. and spend a very frank and useful evening.

The P.M. likes my leaflet, "The Curse of Garibaldi", a copy of which I sent to him yesterday. His Private Secretary conveys a message that he thinks it very good.

4. 11. 40

Write Van a long letter reporting acts and deeds. He is taking some ten days' leave now at Denham and I hope will come back feeling better.

5. 11. 40

Emergency Executive of the Labour Party for the purpose of putting little Laski on the mat for an article, "Demand War Aims", published in the Herald. He makes an apology and says that, if he had imagined that this article would embarrass C.R.A., he would not have written it.

Some people are very indiscrete! I have to take special steps to prevent J.S.M. from raising at this E.E. a question relating to four German Socialist refugees at Lisbon, into which I have been quite needlessly dragged by H.M.'s officials. I undertake that C.R.A. shall be consulted on the subject.

Later in the afternoon, go with R.L. to meet the Chiefs of Staff (Pound, Haining and Portal); D.C. with Monckton are also there. These, with Ismay and a secretarial Major, make up the company. We are to consider a paper on propaganda prepared by a joint committee - J.I.C., J.P.C., S.O.E., M.of I., etc. There is nothing very startling in this paper, but it seems to me that it would be useful to put it up to the Cab. with a statement that D.C. and I and the C.O.S. all concur. D.C. shows great reluctance and makes upon me an impression of dispeptic ineffectiveness. He and old Pound in the Chair seem quite unable to get the discussion started. Pound says "Will you begin?", then D.C. says "Won't you begin?", and then neither begins. So I have to weigh in. I don't know what the Chiefs of Staff are like alone. Perhaps with Ministers present they feel shy. Much the best, of course, this afternoon is Portal.

D.C. dropped some halting suggestions about all broadcasting being under one Minister. It almost looked as though he were offering me something on a plate. But I preserve a discreet silence and ask G. later in the evening to sound Monckton as to D.C.'s mind on this and, perhaps, to influence it as we should wish.

R.L. to dine and I work very hard to make him feel happy and esteemed. I am inclined to think that I have half succeeded.

6. 11. 40

The Swedish Minister comes to see me with proposals about ships and cargoes. I tell him that, as he knows, I love his country but that his countrymen should never forget that we are fighting and dying in order that they, with the rest of Europe, may be free. This thought should make them tolerant of our blockade. He takes me to lunch at the Carlton. But what a place this is in which it is most clearly seen who is with whom! I observe, for example, little Laski together with an elderly-looking airman (I think Brig. Groves) being entertained by Brig. Brooks. The latter is undoubtedly a great manoeuvrer and should be watched a little. I also observe F.N. and A.D. lunching with a rascally-looking middle-aged man who, I hear, is Chester Beatty.

The Swede (who has an English mother) says that he thinks a peace offensive may develop from one of many quarters. We might, he thinks, ~~right~~ find an attempt at a new Hoare-Laval pact. Lothian, he is inclined to suspect. The offer of an Anglo-American alliance, and L. might work for this, might seem to justify a peace with Hitler. Beaverbrook, he thinks, might be for this, and the Dominions would in any case be inclined to follow an American lead. Moreover, Australian and Canadian soldiers in this country, writing home to their wives and children through a long inactive winter, might spread the notion that there was no point in going on. Finally, the Swede mentions de Courcy, who also happens to be lunching in this most public place. He thinks that he and his associates of the Imperial Policy Group might have some influence. I say that I am most sceptical of all this. None the less, one must watch. For my part I am as fixed as ever that we cannot contemplate anything less than complete and unquestionable defeat of Germany.

7. 11. 40

Parliament meets for the first time in the Church House, Westminster; quite a good improvisation.

Eindemann to lunch. I ask his guidance on my Station XIV. He first thinks that perhaps it might be handed over to the Navy, who are more interested in these things than the Air Force. He thinks perhaps the cost of some of the stuff is excessive, and some of the opportunities for its best use have been lost owing to the defection of France. It might, however, have other uses. I suggest that he should come down with me and my two principals to inspect it on the spot. He would like this, though not at a weekend.

We naturally speak about King B. (He too, I was told, was lunching at that most private place, the Carlton Hotel, yesterday!)



Gladman

The Professor thinks that King B. was very badly treated; he never had a chance; he had a quarrel, the Prof. understands, with G., who really shifted him. It is clear to me that the Prof. blames G. and links him up with the F.O., for whom in general he has no use at all. I endeavour to create a different opinion, and add that, as Van has told him, there were many things not right in King B.'s show. I say that I get F.O. concurrence more easily now. He asks whether I have asked them to concur in "anything very naughty". I say "Why, yes." We both abuse P.Nichols, and the Prof.says, off his own bat, that he should be sent out of the country to some remote and unimportant Legation.

DIARY

7. 11. 40

The famous G.S. Lea comes to see me in the afternoon. He makes a most favourable first impression; active and vigorous, both mentally and physically, with very quick responses, no respect for authority as such, very tough, and having got pretty full value out of a very varied and adventurous life. He went to school at Felstead and then straight into a ladies' hat-shop, his parents not being able to send him to a University. Later he lived some years in Paris, composing dance tunes and otherwise living on his wits. Later in Spain and Portugal, and fought on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. He has now been in our Army for some months and I think, as compared with what I hear from G., who saw him the first day when he wore uniform (and admitted to feeling very uncomfortable and unhappy in it), this has done him a great deal of good. He says that he now speaks French, Portuguese and Spanish fluently, and a bit of Italian and Catalan. He describes how he taught himself Spanish by deliberately forcing himself to make speeches quite alone on various subjects.

My colleague the Colonial Secretary was very greatly taken with him, and so am I.

Go this evening with L.R. to dine with Lothian, who makes very much the same long speech to us as three weeks ago. We talk about the Far East, where L.R. is very firm and strong (I sometimes tell him that if he was as keen on blockading and fighting the Germans as the Japs we should very seldom disagree). On food, Lothian is still inclined to wobble, and I do not think it wise to cross-examine him on his conversation with Hoover. I am afraid that he may have given the impression that H.M.G. were prepared to relax the blockade. He has put up a detailed scheme to me some days ago, and I say this evening that my first impression remains, that it is most ingenious and would come in well as a second line of defence if we are pushed out of the first, which, however, I intend to hold as long as I can. L.R. also puts up an ingenious variant based upon a widening of the definition of "medical supplies". This, too, I regard as a second line of defence, and so insist with L.R., when two days later, making an aide memoire for L. of our conversation, he tries to make me say that I will concede this second point at once for unoccupied France and then go on to do the same for the Belgians and others. But I won't have this.

I hear on good authority that the Germans have now got a drug which destroys the will power of those to whom it is administered, so that the infliction of quite a little pain forces from the

victims all information. It was so that the two prisoners of Venloo were made to cough up everything, including such details as telephone numbers. This device reduces the need for the Nazis to torture their victims, but I doubt whether, even so, they torture them less.

It is also reported that B. has an innocent account.

8. 11. 40

Cab. in the morning, very ragged and much depression, principally owing to heavy naval sinkings and decline in various indices of output. The question is about the provision of air communications in several directions, but although these have many supporters, there is also strong opposition, from three separate quarters in particular. It is said that we must not forget that we are fighting for our lives, nor the old definition between Being and Well-being, that we face a narrowing horizon, that the Navy cannot continue to perform the impossible, that the moral of the merchant seamen is not as good as it should be, and that if heavy sinkings continue, there may be refusals to put to sea; also that in the Midlands, ~~the~~ e.g. Coventry, the moral of munition workers is affected by raids, that some who have come from a distance to work have returned home, and that there is a silly demand for fighter planes to be constantly circling above the factories. (It is difficult not to be mercurial, and K.W. tells me later that this morning when he called early to see P.M. the latter was more depressed than he had ever seen him before. In a day or two, however, this all vanishes as the situation again changes.)

hinton

A great fidget just before lunch. King B. has been telling people triumphantly that he is not going to India after all, and D.M. has been rowing G. on the telephone about what we both thought was quite a good reply to questions about the Poles. H.G. thinks these two matters may be connected. (King B. told R.V. about a week ago that he was definitely going to India.) It later appears that King B. did not pass medical board because he said he had insomnia. This is a clear case of swinging the lead.

Subling

This evening C.D. gives a party designed to smooth away many obstacles. I am put between D.M.O. and D.A.I.; also present D.M.I., C.D. and G. I hear afterwards that D.A.I. thinks I talk too much to D.M.O. and too little to him. It is therefore suggested that I must have D.A.I. alone by himself another time to smooth him down. Oh, all these male schoolgirls! D.M.O. is very good and seems prepared to be helpful. They were all horrified when it was said that King B. was not going after all, and I think he will take steps to deal with this. I say that if he will release Colonel G. ~~and~~ I will not ask him for any more senior officers; also that I

# Special Note

Page 91 missing from  
the original

We speak of the output figures and agree they are not good. The Beaver, in particular, has much less to cheer about now, and, as K.W. says with a certain impish satisfaction, "We are back now to where we were when I left the A.M." (On the other hand, of course, allowance must be made for heavy falls in German output in the last few months.)

We speak of Lothian, and agree that his strong suit is high-minded ballyhoo. This may be quite useful in America so long as the policy of H.M.G. has not to be too exactly based upon it.

G. says that we have got Gubbins, so that I shall not need to ask for any more senior officers.

G. hears from W.O. that King B. got out of his passage on the ground of "insomnia", whereupon the D.M.O. said "The best cure for insomnia is a long sea voyage, so I have ordered him to proceed next Tuesday on a ship that is leaving that day". G. asked where it was going to and D.M.O. said "I don't know and I don't care, but I hope it's going a bloody long way". The sequel is related below.

10. 11. 40

Revelations! I therefore leave early in the afternoon instead of risking anything by staying the night.

11. 11. 40

Beaver  
2/40

G. tells me this morning that he hears that D.A.I. was slightly offended last Friday because I talked too much to D.M.O. and too little to him. G. also reports that C. Peake has been making constructive suggestions and thinks that B.L. will never lift a finger to do any publicity other than for the Ministry and its work. C.P. would like to speak to him on this, G. says. I am quite agreeable.

Sikorski calls to see me, accompanied, I regret to say, by Retinger. He is friendly but rather vague and unprecise regarding his requirements. He says that his military and civilians do not hit it, which I knew before. He asks me and G. to lunch next week to meet Sosnkowski and Kot. (N. afterwards explains to G., who should explain to me, that ~~Sikorski~~ Sosnkowski is against democracy and wants to oust Sikorski and restore the regime of the Colonels, also that he is not supposed to know anything which K. is doing, so that I must be very careful not to say too much about anything to anyone, but, though being friendly to all, be more friendly to anyone than to anyone else. This is all exquisitely Polish. Archie Sinclair says to me two days later that Raczynski seems to have entirely faded into the background, but this, after all, is natural.

Lunch at the Belgian Embassy and sit next to Spaak. I gather that he is likely to want to re-make his broken reputation and to help us to get the Government expanded. Van mi. suggests that I should ask him to lunch alone with him and talk to him on these lines. To-day I have not approached this subject at all, I think wisely. S. cannot speak English and is feeling rather marooned and lonely.

Gubbins to see me this afternoon. I say "Do you remember where we met last?" He says no. I say "I sat next to you at a dinner at the Polish Embassy immediately after the defeat of Poland. I found then that you shared with me not only an appreciation of the Poles, but what is even more eccentric, an appreciation both of Poles and Czechs." I say that I hope he will take on a number of functions for me, including liaison with Poles and Czechs, and also be my D.T. He says that to-day battle royal is going on between the C.I.G.S. and the G.O.C. Home Forces for his body, which the former has promised to me.

Rumour runs riot that Halifax is leaving the Foreign Office and is to be succeeded by Eden. R.L. is said to be bothering about in the hope that if this happens he will supplant Cadogan.

(An addition to my conversation some days later with G. about the inner nature of Party politics. I related to him the most revealing story of Joshua Nitson refusing to support A.G. for the leadership of the Labour Party because he had been named for the job by the Daily Express.)

12. 11. 40

*Nelson*

Lindemann to lunch with G. and C.D., and afterwards the Prof. and G. and I visit Station XIV. A successful trip I think, and the Prof is quite friendly to me, though still doubtful whether G. is not too much "F.O." I tell the Prof. that he must ~~advise~~ advise me on the future of this Station and that I shall make no change till he does so. (I write him a letter in this sense next day.)

We deposit L. at Uxbridge and, returning alone with G. in his car (having used this so that the three of us could talk freely on the way down), we have a good talk on the inner nature of politics and questions of personal publicity. I explain to him that in ordinary days of Party warfare the success of a politician depends on two things only; first, the success of his Party, and second, his own success within his Party. Therefore, for many years I was almost the worst hated by Tories and Liberals of all my Parliamentary Labour colleagues, and this was one reason why I was popular with my colleagues, who enjoyed the way in which I went for our opponents. (I also related to him the story of my election to the Parliamentary Labour E.C. in 1925, the simple-mindedness of Arthur P., and the confession afterwards made to me by H.S.L.) Just now, however, when, as the P.M. said the other day of the U.S., "All our affairs are somewhat mixed up together", everything wore a slightly different aspect. He said that the Tory feelings towards me had only lately, especially since I had become a Minister, been changing a great deal. (J.W. told me earlier this week that he met Tory M.P.s who liked me because I was "belligerent", now against Hitler as in other days against them. Loftus had said that he would like to see Eden go to the F.O. and me to the W.O., because what was wanted there was someone who was prepared to be ruthless with some of the Generals! J.W. had also explained that I had a very good press with our own Party in the House because, alone among No.1 Ministers, I made a practice of lunching where I had always lunched, among the chaps, and did not even bring J.W., though my P.P.S., to lunch at the same table with me.) G. said that a story was circulating, though as yet not within very wide circles, that I was a Minister who was not only on top of his job, but was never tired and never ill and generally cheerful, though sometimes righteously and explosively angry. He himself had started the nickname "Dr Dynamo" which, he said, had gone very well. Meanwhile, many said, looking round at Ministers at large, "Who is there?" Some day P.M. might have a stroke, "And then?"

*Peake*

This theme recurs later in the evening when C.P. and J.W. and G. and I have a short talk in my room. J.W. and I do not mention the man who is in our mind, as assistant to B.L. C.P. is going away for several days and will think about the problem. We four are to meet again next week.

H.M. is not, they say, making a good impression by his use of Leslie. This work is being unskilfully done. (H.G. says that G.W., whom he knows well, now Maxwell's P.S., says that Anderson used only to see three or four senior officials, and now H.M. sees no-one except Leslie and Miss Donald! H.G. says that my methods of sending for quite low down officials is much admired and approved when reported in other departments.

Spend some time this evening at the Admiralty in the underground War Room with A.V.A., three Admirals - Pound, Philips and another - and a minor official from the Ministry of Shipping. I have written a sharp letter to A.V.A. protesting against discussions of economic war problems in my absence, and also speaking again of the laxity of the blockade at the Straits and along the W.African coast. It is conceded that I should have been kept better informed and the promise is made that this shall be done in future. Meanwhile, they would like to make some rationing arrangements with Vichy France. I say that I am doubtful about this, but invite them to prepare a scheme and send it to me. (I think that I shall catch them out on this, because they will have to agree to use force against Vichy in certain conditions, and will probably be unwilling to do so.) The Admirals are all very bothered about the naval situation and the possibility of the Vichy fleet coming in against us. Next day and the day after, the war brightens a good deal with the naval and air successes against the Italians at Taranto and in Albania.

At the end of our conversation A.V.A. begins to tell the Admirals that he and I alone in the Labour Party Executive - and I add Lees-Smith - were in favour of rearmament at an early date. We then took the matter to the Party meeting and got our colleagues' majority decision reversed. I say "I am not sure how far we should let these Admirals into such secrets."



13. 11. 40

-8.

Dalton I 23 (96)

It seems that I have got Gubbins at last, or at least the near prospect of him. This is an amazing achievement.

Benes comes to see me and, when he passes from politics to other things, I bring in G., reminding him that long ago we all played tennis together before breakfast at Geneva. B. is very recapitulatory and does not tell me much that is new. When he has gone, G. says that he thinks he looks very prosperous and hears that he has a considerable private fortune. There is a certain sub-acidity in many quarters about this little man, of whom, however, I am a protagonist.

This afternoon R.L. comes to see me. He seems much more cheerful than before and I think that my evening spent with him has, for the moment, put things right. He is reported to have expressed astonishment at my capacity to absorb alcohol without outward trace, and at the speed with which I walked him through the Park. "And he is only a few months older than I am", he is reported to have added. He is now trying to make a common front with G. against V., who, he says, jumps dangerously quickly to impracticable decisions. Mr Voigt has apparently been active here.

I hear to-night that King B. has interested Eden in his case and that his departure is again held up.